

THE MOSLEM WORLD

VOL. XXVI

JANUARY, 1936

No. 1

JANUARY 1911—1936

Edinburgh, 1910; Lucknow, 1911. To the mission fields around the world these words represent historic places and dates. They stand for the mountain-top experiences of the missionary enterprise of the Protestant churches. Both "thinking" and "re-thinking" missions found a place at Edinburgh in what proved to be the most momentous meeting ever held in behalf of modern missions. And the forces that emanated from that gathering resulted not only in new inspiration, and new impetus for the extension of God's Kingdom, but they also provided a multitude of new methods, together with the means and spirit of cooperation.

Edinburgh, 1910 surveyed the *world*. Lucknow, 1911 surveyed the *Moslem world*. The one at Cairo in 1906 was the first ever held. Lucknow emphasized, among other things, that Islam is a world problem, that it presents a singularly united front to Christian missions, that the missionaries throughout the world in contact with Islam need the help which would come from a closer coordination of their knowledge, experience, and effort. Thus it was that Lucknow set in motion cooperative enterprises that have continued down to this day as valued instruments for assisting the missionaries of Christ throughout the world of Islam. Among these may be mentioned the "Missionaries to Moslems League", a fellowship of prayer and encouragement; committees for aiding the production and distribution of literature for Moslems; the opening of centers for the training of missionaries to Moslems; and

last but not least the publication of *THE MOSLEM WORLD* Quarterly itself.

This magazine, which has continued for a quarter of a century, is the child of Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer, its editor. While laboring in Arabia as a missionary, he early saw the need of such a periodical in English. In the French and German languages there were, and are still, magazines which provide a review of current events, literature and thought among Mohammedans, and so afforded scholars of those countries an outlet for presenting their latest findings to the world. Not only so, but Moslems themselves were beginning to issue periodicals in the English language from London and India, which offered an additional reason and incentive to Dr. Zwemer to plead the necessity, and even the urgency of the responsibility laid upon the Christian world to provide a scholarly missionary-minded periodical in English, which, from the Christian point of view, would face the problems raised by Islam.

For twenty-five years *THE MOSLEM WORLD* has faithfully tried to discharge its obligation not merely to those of scholarly instincts, but to all Christian people with a missionary passion, and even to Moslems themselves, by providing them information about their religion, and developments in Moslem lands not easily obtainable elsewhere. In fact, the writer can well believe that editors of important Islamic journals in English, which are published particularly in England and India, look forward with more than ordinary interest to the arrival of *THE MOSLEM WORLD* among their exchanges. For some of the world's most able Islamic scholars have contributed to the wealth of interesting material found in its pages; as, for instance, Duncan B. Macdonald of Hartford, David S. Margoliouth of Oxford, A. J. Wensinck of Leiden, Alfred Guillaume of Durham, S. Khuda Bukhsh of Calcutta, Louis Massignon of Paris, H. Kraemer of Java, and W. H. T. Gairdner of Cairo.

Names such as these suggest a magazine of the highest order, and such it has ever striven to be. The new Index

covering these twenty-five volumes, which is now available, shows at a glance the amazing amount of information contained therein, and the vast range of Islamic knowledge which has been assembled. Would you know about Abyssinia, Afghanistan, or Arabia; their secrets and their problems? Here they are given with vivid, realistic touches. The great personalities of Islam, of course, come in for their share of consideration in such intriguing articles as "Al-Hallaj, Saint and Martyr", "Al-Ghazali as a Sufi", "The Creed of al-Sanusi", and "Ibn Sa'ud and the Wahhabis." Modern movements too are discussed: "The Ahmadiya Movement" of India, "Constructive Revolutions in Iran", "The Awakening of Egypt's Womanhood", and numerous articles on the astounding developments in Turkey, and the Islamic world at large. Add to these also the technical contributions on such subjects as "The Use of the Apocrypha by Moslems", "The Law of Apostasy", "Begotten not Made", and "From Arabian Nights to Spirit". Finally, to complete the picture, consider the valuable department which supplies news and notes on current subjects culled from Islamic sources from all parts of the Moslem world, and that which provides reviews of all books on Islamic subjects.

With such an array of evidence before us it is abundantly apparent that THE MOSLEM WORLD has even more than met the expectations of those who so daringly, and with so much faith and vision, brought it to birth a quarter of a century ago. Today the need is no less urgent for the existence of such a magazine, than it was at the beginning. In fact, one may say that the need is even greater as we face a still more confusing future. Many feel that to discontinue the Quarterly at this critical time, so full of new hopes, would be a serious blow.

In fact, missionary leaders from both sides of the Atlantic and beyond are agreed as to the need of this common forum for thought and activity. Hear the declaration of Dr. John R. Mott, whose sound judgment is known to all:

"I have no mental reservation whatever with reference to the desirability of the continuance of THE MOSLEM WORLD Quarterly. Were it dropped, it would leave a serious gap, and one the creation of which all the most discerning friends of work on behalf of Moslems would profoundly regret. I think it is time for us to rally and put forth very special efforts to avert such a calamity. I cannot overstate my sense of the indispensability of this organ in the period before us."

Equally weighty are the comments of Dr. Julius Richter, strong veteran leader of Protestant Missions in Berlin:

"I hope the economic landslide will not crash your valuable magazine in its depression. Being the only paper which is handling the complicated and in many directions unsolved questions of the Mohammedan missions, it would indeed be a serious loss if it should go out of existence."

While Dr. A. L. Warnshuis, Secretary of the International Missionary Council, in sending congratulations on the completion of the twenty-fifth volume, says:

"I sincerely hope that the next twenty-five years of the magazine may be equally successful. THE MOSLEM WORLD is greatly needed because: (1) It is the only magazine that deals so adequately with the problems of the Christian approach to the world of Islam, which with Jewry is the most challengingly difficult to win in the Christian faith; (2) it is essential for the necessary scholarly study of Islam, as it serves as a means by which the workers in all parts of the world may share their best thinking and research; (3) it is an important, really indispensable, organ for the preparation of missionaries, both new and old, to help them in bringing the Gospel of Christ to the minds and hearts of Moslems; and (4) it always arouses its readers to intelligent and earnest intercession for the whole Moslem World, and such prayers are the required condition for the accomplishment of our task of world-wide evangelization."

One is confident that these expressions of opinion voice the genuinely serious sentiments of the many friends of THE MOSLEM WORLD. To allow this important instrument of the Kingdom to lapse at this critical period in the history of missions would mean a distinct loss to the cause of Christ, who gave gave his *all* that men everywhere might know life eternal. But this must not come to pass. THE MOSLEM WORLD must go on. It will if, in the words of a great modern statesman, "we do our part".

Boston, Mass.

MURRAY T. TITUS.

ISLAM IN ETHIOPIA AND ERITREA

Since the eyes of the public are turned to this part of Africa because of present political tensions and outbreak of war, it is worth while to set forth the place of Islam in the history and life of Ethiopia and Eritrea. The earliest contact of Islam from its cradle in Arabia was with Abyssinia, and for many centuries, by trade, by conquest and by slow infiltration, the religion of the Arabs has penetrated to every part of Ethiopia and along the extensive coast-line which once formed her border.

I. *Introductory.* The name Abyssinia is a corruption of the Arabic *Habash*, a word which was thought to designate a mixture of races. If this was the reason for the name given by the Arabs, it is even today appropriate. Guerinot states that it is not metaphor but fact to call this country a veritable "*musée des peuples*" of various races and ethnological groups. At present and officially the land is called Ethiopia. Today this ancient empire is a political island bounded on the north by Italian Eritrea, on the west by the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, on the south-west and south by Uganda and Kenya, and on the south-east and east by British, Italian and French Somaliland. It resembles a triangle with the apex toward the north, and has an area of about 350,000 square miles, as great as the total area of France, Italy and Greece combined. It is divided into Abyssinia proper, i.e., the old Ethiopian empire of Tigre, Amhara, Gojam and part of Shoha, together with the southwest Galla highlands, and the remainder of Shoha, with the Somali plateau and Harar. On every side except the south the walls of the west plateau rise abruptly from the plains. In a day's journey, the traveller may pass from tropical to almost Alpine

conditions of climate. Equally great is the surprising range of the flora and fauna and the heterogeneous character of the people.

II. *The Moslem population.* The population of all the provinces and districts, to the number of twenty, may be put anywhere between eight and ten million. Some estimate it at less than seven million. Of these about three and a half million are monophysite Jacobite Christians connected with the Coptic patriarchate of Alexandria. There are some Catholics and Protestants, fifty thousand Jews, perhaps a million animistic pagans, and the rest of the population is Moslem, i.e., about three million, or thirty-seven per cent of the total (Massignon's *Annuaire*). Ten years ago Jonas Iwarson, a Swedish missionary, estimated the total Moslem population, including Eritrea, at no less than four million.

With the exception of the capital, Addis Ababa, Harar and Dire-dawa, there are no towns of any size in Ethiopia. The earliest capital, Aksum, is in ruins. None of the other towns has a permanent population exceeding six to ten thousand, but several have large periodic markets. There is a single line of railway from Jibuti, in French Somaliland, to the capital, 780 miles, but outside the capital there are scarcely any roads for wheeled traffic. "Abyssinia", says Lady Simon, "is, I suppose, the strangest and most picturesque territory in the whole African continent. Whether one looks at it from the standpoint of its physical features, or from its medieval institutions, or thinks of the homes, surroundings and circumstances of its interesting people, a kindly feeling dominates the sad picture of its servile conditions." Slavery has been interwoven in the warp and woof of Abyssinian life since the earliest days, and the sinister effect of slave-holding and slave-dealing on the people increased with the advent of Islam and the demand for slaves in the markets of Mecca, Zanzibar and Massawa. The slave population today exceeds 2,000,000. All of the recent treaties, the efforts of the League of Nations and the public arraignment by the

Italian delegates at Geneva of the Ethiopian government emphasize the ugly fact that "slavery is a source, if not the main source, of both the influence and revenue for the rulers of Abyssinia". The whole economic structure of the country reposes on slave-owning.

We can form no true conception of Islam and Christianity in this part of the world unless we include the slave population, which embraces Christians, pagans and Mohammedans.

"Slavery covers a wide variety of servitude, from that of the little household slaves of the Christian priests to the wretched mutilated boys and girls who are carried across the sea and sold in the slave-markets of Arabia; from the 'long line' of slaves carrying gifts from hospitable rulers of Abyssinia to passing visitors, to the suffering gang yoked and chained together, and driven by the crack of the whip through the country or to the coast ports for sale as human merchandise; from the slave community of a village, whose tasks are limited to the social requirements of the community, to the conditions that exist along the borders of the provinces or neighboring territories—conditions which a British Foreign Office paper has described as 'hell'. But everywhere and in all circumstances of the slave life of Abyssinia, the condition of property is the dominating fact."¹

Amid such a welter of races and religions—Christian, pagan, Jewish and Moslem—what are the languages spoken by slaves and freemen? The principal languages are Amharic (the language of literature since the thirteenth century), Tigré, Tigrinya, with a number of dialects, Galla, Harti, Ogaden, Afar, Somali and Arabic. The three first named and the last are Semitic in origin. Many of the leading Mohammedans and merchants of the towns use Arabic. Most of them use the language of the district where they live. But many are bi-lingual and their Arabic prayers and Koran are a constant stimulus to the spread of the Arab tongue.

"On the way up from the coast", wrote the late Dr. J. C. Young, "nothing struck me so much as the number of Arabs seen on the journey. The head porters were always Arabs, who hired their own coolie gangs, and paid them as they saw fit. The waiters in the hotels were Arabs, and every good job on the railway was occupied

¹ Lady Simon, "Slavery", page 8.

by an Arab. Then, too, Arabs were scattered over the country buying ivory, skins, coffee, and civet, for their European employers in Jibuti or Aden, whence those commodities are exported to Europe or America. And as most Arabs can live like the natives of the place, and as they usually have plenty of money, and absolutely no scruples about inter-marriage with the people, it is not long before they form family connections, which, being born propagandists, they use for the spread of their religion and the fostering of their faith."

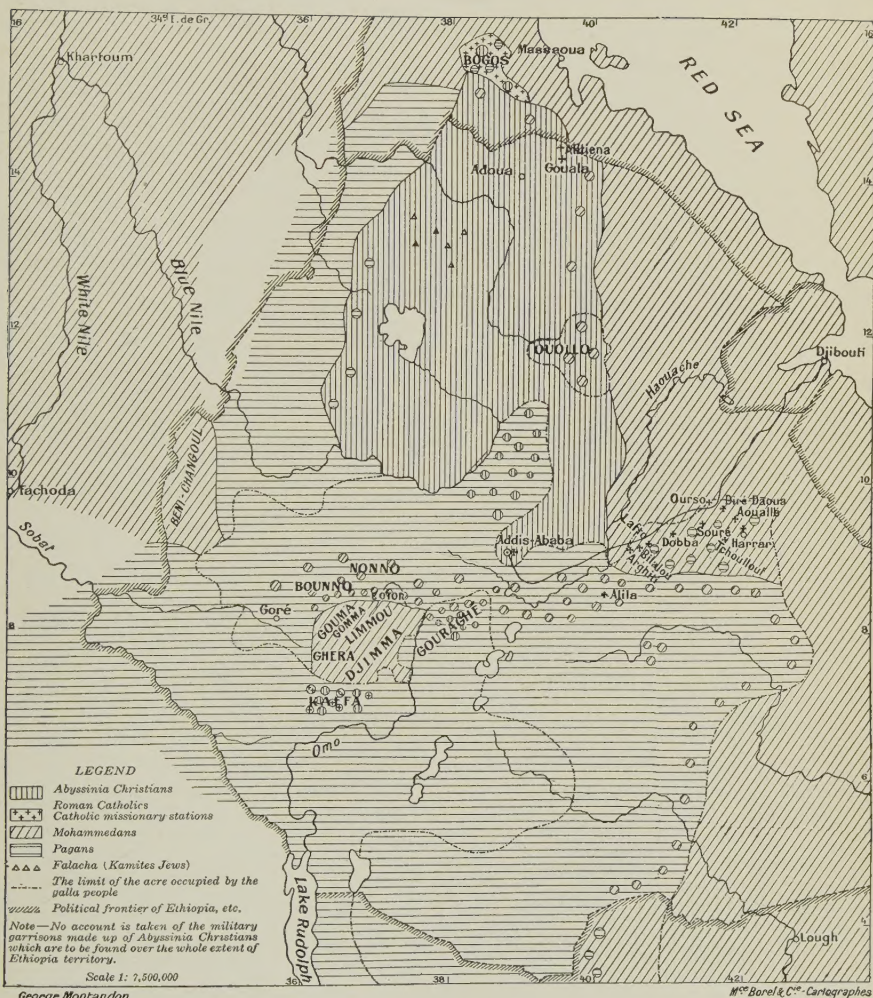
In regard to the present distribution of Islam in Eritrea and Ethiopia the following general statement can be made. Moslems occupy the whole low-lying district of north Eritrea and on the shore along the Red Sea. In the nominally Christian highland provinces we find them in the towns and some of the villages. They are also found in the eastern and western frontier districts and in the southern provinces. Some Galla tribes are wholly Moslem. Even in the highlands of the north, the centers of ancient Coptic Christianity, we find strong Moslem colonies in the towns, generally in sections that are specially reserved for them.

On the map, here reproduced from the monograph of George Montandon, we can see that, contrary to the usual opinion, the so-called Christian *bloc* in Ethiopia is not wholly encircled by Islam but borders paganism on the south. In the midst of this large pagan area, however, there is a strong although small Moslem center at Djimma. In the neighboring provinces of Bounno, Nonno, Botor and Gouraghé there are Moslem minorities. The chief Moslem tribes are also enumerated and described by Guerinot:

"In the southeast, the Province of Choa is largely Mohammedan, as is also the province of the Gallas. The other chief Moslem tribes are the Mensa, Habab, Baja (represented by the Bisharin), the Bogos, the Bajouk, the Bait Taqui, the Bni Amer, and the Marya."

In Eritrea as in Ethiopia the Moslems are converts and not, with some exceptions, Arabicized immigrants. According to Massignon:

"Except for small groups of colonists, who came from Yemen, the Moslems of Eritrea belong to old indigenous tribes formerly animistic or Christian, and some among them such as the Bogos and the Mensas have preserved, together with an old dialect of Tigré, a



MAP OF ETHIOPIA

code coutumier, which Islam has not been able to supplant. During the brief Egyptian occupation of Eritrea (1876-1884), the Hanafi rite and the Egyptian code were introduced. In 1885 the Italian Government did not think it best to change the system, yet it does not appear that Arabization has been facilitated in the cities of Asmara and Massaua, by the introduction of Moslem canon law.

"In Abyssinia proper, the only Mohammedans who claim Arab origin are the Wollos, who say that they came from the Hejaz. This pretence is, for the rest, scarcely justified, for they are altogether of the Galla race and do not speak Arabic."²

Jonas Iwarson states that the Mohammedans of the highlands belonged mostly to the so-called Giaberti group, while those of the frontier and the low-lying districts are called Nabbara. The difference seems to be occupational and social rather than sectarian. The former because of their close contact with Christians have adopted many Christian traditions and show the influence of their environment. They are more liberal and stand on a higher level than the Habbara. By occupation they are artisans, merchants or peasants and less rigid in the observance of prayer and fasting. They are also generally monogamous and their women go about unveiled. The Nabbara, on the contrary, are rather ignorant and fanatic. They are shepherds or nomads. They practice polygamy and their women wear the veil. There may be racial distinction as between Semite and Hamite, but they themselves do not emphasize this.

The great majority of all Ethiopian Moslems belong to the Hanafi (Wollo, Choa, Djimma) and the Shafai (Harrar) rite. In the capital the Hanafi sect have two mosques, and the government, since Menelik II, gives a cannon salute at the two major Moslem holidays. There are two Moslem papers in Amharic, both published at Addis Ababa called *A'emro* and *Brehan-enne-Salam*.³

As regards the rights of Moslems at the present day, they are more than tolerated by the Ethiopian government. Only in certain districts Moslems are forbidden to acquire land; Godjam is an example.

² Massignon, *Revue du Monde Musulman*, Vol. LVII, page 95.

³ *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, 1929, page 52.

"The Abyssinian Church", wrote Iwarson in 1924, "tolerates a certain competition on the part of Islam, rather than on the part of other Christian communities; and yet, of course, she is anxious to preserve a distinct difference as regards her cult and her confession. Christian and Moslem never take food together; especially no meat, because an Abyssinian Christian would defile himself if he ate so-called Moslem meat, and vice versa. Concerning beverages they are less severe. But at marriages or funerals different rooms are preferably arranged for Christians and Mohammedans.

"Mohammedans and Christians are not very different in character, but it is remarkable, and not very honorable for Abyssinian Christianity, that many of the Mohammedans, according to the witness of foreigners, are more reliable and industrious than the Christians. As regards their intellectual capacity, this is higher among the Abyssinians than among people of Hamitic origin."

One common trait among both Moslems and Ethiopian Christians is their reverence for holy objects and holy places, together with the superstitions that cling to such reverence. They observe each other's feasts and visit shrines where miracles of healing are wrought. This fact, together with great illiteracy and a general superficiality of religious concept on the part of the votaries of both religions, have facilitated mass conversions in either direction. By royal order or threat, groups of Moslems have more than once embraced Christianity and, on the other hand, mass conversions to Islam have taken place for similar and political reasons, especially in the northern part of Eritrea. "When, for instance, the Habab and Mensa tribes embraced Islam, some hundred years ago, the chief reason was said to be the natural necessity for these tribes to use camels as domestic animals, which was against Abyssinian Christian prejudices" (Iwarson). Of a more recent mass-movement to Christianity we shall speak later.

III. *The Entrance and History of Islam.* From very early times there was contact between Yemen in Arabia and the old Ethiopian kingdom, partly because of geographical location and also because the Christian church existed in both countries. The Semitic population of the western coast of the Red Sea probably found its way thither by gradual infiltration from Arabia. There was a

flourishing trade, and slavery was an institution in both countries before Islam. About 525 A. D. an Abyssinian expedition overthrew Dhu Nuwas in Yemen and re-established Abyssinian lordship over South Arabia.⁴ The trading community at Mecca had frequent communications with the opposite coast, and Billal, the first muezzin in Islam, was an Abyssinian slave. The Arabian origin of the Abyssinians on the ground of their "identity in manners, physiognomy, language and tradition" is asserted by Ludolf and others.⁵ However this may be, we find in the Koran itself conclusive evidence of the interplay of these two races in the early history of Islam. The Christian martyrs of Nejran and the expedition from Sana'a against Mecca are referred to in Mohammed's revelation. The year of his birth is called "the year of the Elephant", in which Abrahah-al-Ashram, an Abyssinian Christian Viceroy of the king of Yemen, marched to destroy the Kaaba (Surah 105).⁶

In the fifth year of Mohammed's call to the prophethood, eleven men embarked for Abyssinia to escape persecution from the Koraish idolaters. "They met with a kind reception from the Najashy and his people If an Arab asylum at Medina had not at last offered itself, the Prophet himself might have emigrated to Abyssinia and Mohametanism dwindled, like Montanism, into an ephemeral Christian heresy." (Muir's "Mahomet", Vol. II:134).

A few years later there was a second migration to Abyssinia of Arabs numbering no less than one hundred. Among them were some of Mohammed's leading converts and Um Habiba, one of his future wives. Her husband, Obeidallah bin Jahsh, actually became a Christian and wrote from his exile to the Prophet, "We now see clearly, but you (like a puppy-dog) are still blinking".⁷ It surely is of interest to remember that the first Moslem conversion

⁴ Richard Bell, "The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment", page 28.

⁵ Thomas Wright, "Early Christianity in Arabia", 1855, pp. 41-42.

⁶ "The name of Hamyar has sunk into oblivion but the native songs of Ethiopia still celebrate the conqueror of Yemen and the martyrs of Nejran."—Ludolf, History of Aethiop., iib. II:4.

⁷ *Sirah* of Ibn Hisham, page 76, Cairo Edition, 1295 A. H.

to Christianity took place in Ethiopia and that the widow of this earliest convert became the wife of Mohammed. She it was who described the glory of the Abyssinian Cathedral of St. Mary to the Prophet on his death-bed (Muir's "Life of Mahomet" iv:270).

In the year 641 Omar is said to have sent a small naval expedition against the Abyssinian coast, which miscarried. After that time for many centuries Islam had more important conquests, and Abyssinia seems to have been utterly forgotten, although many wars must have been fought between Christians and pagans, between Christians and Moslems. There is practically no information regarding this country in the ancient Arab geographies. Yakut mentions only one small province, and the general ignorance of all the great geographers is astonishing. The only one who gives any correct information, and even that very scanty, is Makrizi (1434 A. D.).⁸

In the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Islam began its penetration and conquests. A series of wars between the Moslem invaders and nominally Christian tribes, together with zealous preachers of Islam, brought the two faiths into contact. About 1521 a Somali chief, Mohammed Gran, supported by Turkish troops and artillery, penetrated into Abyssinia up to its northern frontier, ravaging the country repeatedly and even burning the famous Cathedral of Axum. In 1544 Gran was defeated and killed by King Galawdewos, who in turn was defeated by Gran's successor, Nur-ed-Din. Thus began successive Moslem invasions. By the year 1670 there were large settlements in various parts of the country. In the eighteenth century the Islamic faith was accepted by the Gallas and Wollos. The Moslems also, because they held the coast, were sole masters of all commerce, and some Christian kings favored Islam.⁹ By the end of the eighteenth century one-third of the total population was already Moslem. The Mohammedans were specially favored by Ras Aly, one of the vice-regents and practically master

⁸ I. Guidi in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. I:119.

⁹ Guidi and also T. W. Arnold's "The Preaching of Islam", pp. 97-101.

of Abyssinia before the accession of King Theodore in 1853. "Though himself a Christian, he distributed posts and even the spoils of the churches among the followers of Islam, and during his reign one-half of the population of the central provinces embraced the faith of the Prophet" (T. W. Arnold). On the other hand, there was a revulsion of feeling in 1878 when King John called a convocation of the Church, led a movement against Islam and in 1880 is said to have compelled fifty thousand Mohammedans to be baptized. But this only increased the hatred and hostility of Moslem and pagan.

Many migrated to other parts of Africa, others who remained were scattered and formed new centers for Islam. Under Menelik, who succeeded John and was more tolerant, many returned to the Moslem faith. The greater part of the people were from the beginning of the struggle indifferent to the entrance of Islam and did not realize its threatening danger to the Abyssinian Church. As in Egypt, so here the process was one, not of conquest, but of gradual infiltration and absorption. It is a miracle that under such circumstances and in such geographical and spiritual isolation the ancient church survived at all. Whenever Islamic influence became political and turned into real attempts at invasion of the ancient Christian centers, the rulers and the people revolted against the intruders of an alien faith and at great cost fought for their independence. Separated from the very gate of Mecca by only a narrow strip of land and sea, this Christian Church has continued like an oasis in the desert, while to the north, east, and west nations have been desolated by Islamic usurpation.

About the year 1907 there was a Moslem mass movement toward Christianity which gave proof that the Word of God has still its ancient power.¹⁰ A sheikh in Amhara named Zacharias, originally from Sokota, had a vision and began to search for truth. He read the Koran and found many references to the Bible. Having secured a copy he made comparisons, was converted and began to preach.

¹⁰ THE MOSLEM WORLD, Vol. XIV, 1924, pp. 286-289.

Many followed his teaching, some say over ten thousand. The movement was at its height about the year 1916 and had its center at Sokota. The Swedish evangelical mission fostered it and tried to direct the movement. It still exists and has recently shown signs of new life.¹¹

There is no space here to speak of the great work of the British and Foreign Bible Society with its headquarters in the capital and circulating the Scriptures in Ethiopic, Amharic, Tigré, Tigrinya, Galla, Harti and Ogaden, with other later translations which have appeared in tribal dialects.

In addition to the early pioneer work of the Swedish Mission, the United Presbyterian Church and the Sudan Interior Mission (both American) have occupied important centers and won the goodwill of the people and their rulers, especially through hospitals and medical itineration.

The present political situation broods darkly over the whole of Ethiopia. No one can foretell the issue. Meanwhile, the struggle in the hearts of the people between Islam and Christianity is unavoidable. The disintegration of the old Islam is evident, even in this back-water of civilization. The Caliphate is ended. The *darwish* orders have never had much influence here. Massignon denies their existence. The pilgrimage to Mecca from East Africa is dwindling. The slave-trade is sure to cease entirely in the near future. In the words of Guérinot, "L'Islam Abyssin, en un mot, est un Islam dégénéré qui trahit ses origines récentes. Les populations qui le professent sont converties depuis trop peu de temps, pour qu'elle ne demeurent pas sensibles encore aux coutumes Chrétiennes qui étaient en vigueur parmi leurs ancêtres".¹² Here, as elsewhere in the Near East, we would speak correctly, not of winning Moslems for Christ, but of *winning them back* to Christ.

The great undeveloped economic resources of Ethiopia—coal, iron, oil, copper, platinum, gold—lure the greed of nations and have produced the Italo-Ethiopian crisis. In the spot-light of all the present political and imperialistic

¹¹ THE MOSLEM WORLD, Vol. XXV, 1935, p. 406.

¹² *Revue du Monde Musulman*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 30.

publicity let us not forget that "man is of more value than the gold of Ophir" and that we have the sure missionary promise: "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands to God". And that when glorious things are spoken of Zion, the City of God, and the roll of the nations is called, "behold Ethiopia", "and the Highest himself shall establish her".¹³

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S. M. ZWEMER.

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¹³ Psalm 68:31; Ps. 87:4, 5.

OPPORTUNITY FOR EVANGELISM IN IRAN TODAY

Opportunity in any field of endeavor is revealed by what has been done, what is being done, and what needs to be done. Opportunity may be great in terms of need, but at the same time may be so conditioned by contingencies as to make difficult or impossible its improvement. Can we say there is opportunity if its buying up is with difficulty? Or shall we say, it is opportunity with a challenge, and that all things are possible to him that believeth? In the consideration of this subject, I shall not treat in detail the commonly known avenues of evangelism found in institutional work, medical, educational, or the organized church. Opportunity has been and still is great through these avenues, whatever the modern change and restrictions imposed through national sources, and whatever the apparent successes or disappointments which do face us from time to time. Rapid change and educational advance have brought to Iran, for example, the conviction of ability to handle their own primary schools. But we still have our middle schools and colleges at Isfahan and in Teheran. The medical work, through well established hospitals, exerts its good influence and direct effort for Christ. In all Iran's leading cities also, there are established churches, each with its program, activities, and vision for the future organized church of Iran. Each of these functions to the extent of its abilities and vision.

Preaching and evangelistic work, through meetings, both regular and special, have gone on unmolested through this period of modern advance. A year ago Bishop Linton from Isfahan conducted an evangelistic conference after the Oxford pattern in the Teheran church. At Easter

season this year special evangelistic services are being held at Shiraz and Isfahan. This is at least the third year of such pre-Easter effort, and the same type of meeting has also been conducted for several years in Teheran, Tabriz, Resht, Meshed, and Hamadan, as well as other points. In Teheran this last autumn, Stanley E. Jones spoke three times to large audiences in direct appeal for the claims of Christ. Converts have been given public baptism before a full house at a special Christmas service. The following is a list of subjects used in special meetings at Tabriz this year: The Powerful Church, The Birth of the Christian Life, The Growth of the Christian Life, The Fruit of the Christian Life, The Cross in the Christian Life, The Aim of the Christian Life, Reconsecration of the Christian Life, and The Glory of the Christian Life. There is freedom and success for evangelistic effort through the established institutions in the leading cities of Iran today.

It is impossible within the limits of an article to refer in detail to what has been done and what is being done throughout Iran. A full-sized volume would not suffice for that. I am, therefore, confining my observations to a limited portion of frontier field centering at Meshed. I am dealing with the *nature* of the work which has been done and which needs to be done rather than the detail; and this with the conviction that such approach may remain applicable throughout Iran. Thus, what are the possibilities and opportunities in Iran today in terms of advance in evangelism? For example, have we reached a time when some new emphasis or way of approach might well be given consideration? The Annual Meeting of the North Iran Mission is this year giving chief place to a conference on evangelism. There are those who are seeking a new appraisal of evangelism with a view to finding that which will be more effective in present opportunity for advance. We have passed the hundred-year mark for missions in Iran. What shall we say for these years? What do they signify for advance?

They have seen eastward advance across Iran, from

Isfahan and Shiraz to Yezd and Zahedan, from Urumiah to Teheran, and from Teheran to Meshed, the holy center of Shiah Islam, which stands at the door of both Russian Turkistan and Afghanistan. Rev. James Bassett, in his narrative on the founding and fortunes of the Eastern Persian Mission, tells us,¹ "The mission in Uroomiah was founded in 1834 expressly for labors among the Nestorian Christians of Western Persia. But in 1871 this mission was transferred from the American Board . . . to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions . . . and plans were formed for the enlargement of the work of the mission so as to embrace the *chief cities* of Persia . . . The occupation of Eastern Persia by resident American missionaries began with the settlement in Teheran of Rev. James Bassett in the fall of 1872 (thirty-eight years after beginnings at Urumiah). Excepting the independent work carried on in Isfahan by the British missionary, Rev. Robert Bruce, the American mission in Uroomiah was the only Protestant mission in the kingdom of Persia at that date."

The advance to Meshed came thirty-nine years later, following some initial itinerating trips to that center by different members of the American mission. Rev. L. F. Esselstyn, D.D., notwithstanding the discouraging diplomatic views from both American and British governments in the matter, left Teheran October 30, 1911, and after a trip of thirty-one days arrived in Meshed, rented a house, and moved in, November 30, 1911.

The story of Dr. Esselstyn's evangelistic efforts in Khorasan from this date until his death from typhus fever seven years later is most interesting and challenging. It reveals the great spirit of this pioneer evangelist to central Moslem Asia, and it shows forth the tremendous task and the unexcelled opportunities which he diligently undertook to improve. Four years entirely alone, and three years with associates, amid trials and discouragements, during the war and amid much local disturbance, through famine

¹ "Persia: Eastern Mission", Rev. James Bassett. Chapter IV, page 74-75.

and pestilence, in dangers from persecution and robbers, receiving threats from mobs and fanatics, he occupied and held the station at Meshed, and made long and wearisome journeys throughout the entire region.”² He sold Scriptures and preached publicly in the streets and bazaars and caravansarais of every city and many villages in every direction from Meshed and out along the reaches of the borders of the forbidden lands of Afghanistan and Turkistan. He traveled six hundred miles southward by stages from village to city, even unto the wild lands of Baluchistan. He visited the people of the black tents, the Barbarees from Afghanistan, and was received into the camps of border renegades and robber bands. Northward he mixed with the Turkoman tribes, Kurds, and Turkish-speaking peoples. Westward and south he pressed Christ’s claims to purest Iranian peoples and literally sowed broadcast all of Khorasan and great stretches of Seistan with the Word of God. The region he diligently traversed comprised about one fourth of Iran, in its extent about the size of France or Germany, and containing over two million people. He visioned a separate mission with stations at Sabzevar and Birjand. He pleaded for recruits. He petitioned for a grant of two thousand *tomans* that he might traverse or encircle the land of Afghanistan for pioneer investigation.

His records are detailed accounts of miles traveled, villages visited, number of houses in each, number of Scriptures sold, stories of contacts made,—opportunities untold! Typical is the following summary of an itinerating trip that he made, “I spent Friday afternoon in Kuchan and sold ninety-seven copies of Scriptures. In Daragez, I took a room in a caravansarai in the center of the bazaar and offered the Scriptures for sale at every shop and place of business. Many men came to my room for religious conversation and to buy books. The chief of police gave me permission to visit his chained prisoners. The school teacher encouraged his seventy pupils to buy books, and I

² Dr. R. E. Hoffman in *The Report of Church Work in Meshed and Evangelistic work in Meshed Hospital, 1917-1918.*

sold several among them. I was absent from Meshed fourteen days, traveled two hundred and eighty miles, visited eleven villages, and sold four hundred and eighty-nine volumes in five languages. Since the work in Khorasan was opened five and one-half years ago, we have visited a total of eleven cities and two hundred and sixty-two villages, in all of which the Gospel message has been given and Scriptures sold. We have sold from Meshed, as a center, a total of twenty-four thousand, three hundred seventy-three copies of Scripture.”³

Yet such is, after all, a bare sketch of the nature of the evangelistic effort and opportunity as seen in the region of Meshed for the first five years of its establishment. That was over twenty years ago. The same type of evangelistic effort, this same itineration for sowing abroad the Word of God had been, prior to this, carried on for seventy-five years in other parts of Persia, and has continued with variations until the present time. A trip is made, mapped to reach certain villages and towns; when reached, a spot is chosen, a room or garden taken, visits and calls are exchanged, contacts and conversations are had, the Bible is read, books are given or sold, questions are answered, preaching sometimes done, the claims of Christ are pressed, and after a few days the missionary passes on to another place. Perhaps the difference in the nature of the work from those pioneer days until now has been most marked in this last decade. In the beginning, the missionary was new and strange. He was a “*farangie*” (foreigner). He was respected and honored. Governors and leaders received him and gave him letters to other officers and leading men. He was considered good company, a guest to be desired. To say the least, crowds gathered to see him. In the reports of Dr. Esselstyn we see that he had entrée to the leaders and gentry everywhere. We see him locating in prominent places in city or village. We see him preaching boldly in streets and bazaars. He visited in homes and offices of the mighty. We see him selling books

³ Annual Reports for Meshed Station, 1916-17.

unmolested. We see him sowing broadcast the Word of God through this whole region of Central Asia with profound conviction that the Word of God would not return unto Him void.

But what of today? What are some elements of change in the situation? First the World War came, rather was in progress at that time. Then came penetration of Western civilization, oil companies, automobiles, new styles for clothing, radios, the cinema! With all came rapid change and material improvement. Nationalism came here, too, with its pride and sensitiveness. In journeys now we are often kept under closest watch by police, especially in larger towns and cities. Why? Not, we believe, because of opposition to our faith or purpose, but because of the proximity of the region visited to the Russian border, and because of the natural suspicion that exists for any foreign penetration. This is perhaps the more acute now after these recent years of Western civilization's apparent collapse. Certainly its ugly characteristics are rapidly becoming known to far reaches of every land. Perhaps this very suspicion found expression in laws which declare against newspapers, books, articles, or cinema films deemed injurious to the foundations of Islam. On the other hand, can this mean Scriptures, when there is freedom to ship them into the land, and when presses are busy printing books of Christian teaching and ethics, as well as newspaper articles of the same purport? Or can it mean Christian teaching when within the last two years through the cinema have come such pictures as *The King of Kings*, *Ben Hur*, *The Sign of the Cross*, and *Quo Vadis*, with profound effect upon packed houses in the leading cities for night after night?

"In the year 1931, in view of rumors of extensive Bolshevik propaganda in Persia," writes Dr. D. M. Donaldson of Meshed, "a special order was issued by the central department of Public Instruction to their official representatives throughout the country: 'If within your bounds of jurisdiction there are foreigners carrying on propaganda

against the religion of Islam or against the government, whether in schools or in teaching outside of schools, it is necessary that you should take immediate measures to stop it, communicating the result of your action by telegraph, in order that appropriate measures may be taken”⁴

A representative of this department, on one of our trips, called our attention to this law. But it was the Iranians themselves who pointed out to him that we were not attacking Islam, or working against the government, and we continued our work unmolested. Some of our books which we had sold, however, were torn into shreds at this man’s suggestion.

We continue to itinerate. We still find the same generous, hearty hospitality, for which Iran is so famous, throughout the entire rural regions. But we are no longer a curiosity. We do not rate above other peoples. We do not sell Scriptures in bazaars, or preach in the streets, out of respect and consideration for the very sentiment that now prevails. In the Acts of the Apostles we read that the Apostle Paul on journeys preached boldly and with all boldness wherever he went. If he were violently opposed he moved on to another field. But his was a pioneer work, not a long year policy of occupation. Bold public preaching in bazaars or streets in Iran to-day, under present circumstances, for many reasons might not be welcome or wise. We would not likely be harmed, or imprisoned, but we would, doubtless, be asked to leave the country if we violated the laws of the land. But the Apostle Paul’s boldness did not extend to public preaching alone. We ought to learn from him a boldness in buying up opportunities for evangelistic effort. Perhaps he has lessons to teach us in missionary pioneer or occupational methods.

We have observed that evangelistic effort has now gone on in Iran for a hundred years or more, if we consider Henry Martyn in Shiraz as a beginning. It has been exactly one hundred years for Western Iran, a station of which was closed last year, in the year of its centennial, by

⁴ “Modern Persian Law”, Dwight M. Donaldson, *THE MOSLEM WORLD*, October 1934, Vol. XXIV, page 349.

concerted government and mission action. Sixty-three years' work has continued in Teheran. Other cities, in accordance with the first stated policy of the Presbyterian church, have been occupied from that length of time down to twenty-five years for Meshed, the furthest eastern point. Is it not fitting that we inquire if God's hand were in the forced devolution of this first-established station, that leaders might be freed for intensive work in new places? At least, in view of this happening, let us inquire of Him what is His will for continued advance, in places where we are, as well as in regions beyond and yet unoccupied. Let us remember that with best reckoning, counting all cities and their population, even down to those of five thousand inhabitants, there can scarcely be found more than three million who live in cities. Today Iran has perhaps fifteen million population; some reckon more, some less. This means that the great challenge and opportunity for further advance, after all, lies in these village regions of the serrated mountain valleys of this great arid plateau country. How shall we best reach these? Shall it be by a continued pioneer broadcast method with only a few days to a few weeks in each place? The broadcast itinerating method is pioneer. Its story is a noble one. Its place was basic. But may there be methods for building upon this foundation with even greater effectiveness?

Surely there is vast opportunity in this great arid land for farmers to go forth upon the arid plains to sow seed or plant trees. Who has not thought of this possibility for the vast stretches yet unirrigated? But what kind of planting would it be to broadcast on stony or desert land? Thank God, we do have faith to believe that no word of His does return void in the great scheme of eternity. But we also have the parable of the soils and the sowing of the good seed, intensive as well as extensive. Or, let us say, there is opportunity unrivalled in this vast land, with rapidly improving roads and its great distances, for automobile salesmen. But what opportunity would this be considered by any company if it were but to continue a policy

of traveling to advertise the good qualities of cars, were there not to be also a concentration on centers and a careful contacting of individuals until there were actual sales made? The wide advertisement is basic and fundamental, but it is pioneer work. This widespread sowing of God's Word has been well done. And one has a conviction that it has contributed largely to feeding the established work of present city centers.

On the one hand we have institutional evangelism which centers for decades in the cities with the avowed purpose of creating influence and furnishing evangelistic contacts. We nurture this project or that with the hope that its influence will be fruitful for Christ, until, by the very nature of things, it sometimes seems to become ingrown, and we seem to lose our zeal for immediately pressing the claims of Christ on individuals. On the other hand, the itineration from these centers to villages furnishes a vivid contrast in type of evangelism. Evangelists, missionary or national, make tours from village to village with a day or two in each place. What can we do to improve this method, at best all too inadequate for the vast rural reaches which comprise the bulk of the population, the masses of whom are unable to read, and must, therefore, be reached by word of mouth or by hearing others read? Is there not need, now, for an intermediate method of evangelism that will nurture some of the village people until they actually receive Christ and can be left as leaders of small groups in their own village?

Meshed, Iran (Persia)

J. MARK IRWIN.

THE MUSLIM POINT OF VIEW ¹

Islam is the one great religion which is later in time than Christianity and which takes cognisance of Christian teaching and the Christian position. Thus in coming with his message to a Muslim audience the missionary faces a peculiarly difficult problem which does not arise in connection with other fields. The missionary who takes his message to India, China, or Japan is bringing something that is new, and that as such at least merits examination and consideration. The missionary to Islam, however, brings a message which that religion has already taken cognisance of and rejected. To the Muslim we are the bearers of a message which he considers he already knows all about and which has long ago been superseded by something better.

Muhammad appeared some six centuries after Christ, and his Qur'an deals at some length with the Christian faith. Fundamentally his attitude towards it is governed by his own philosophy of religion and his own place in the religious system. That philosophy is expressed in a theory of Revelation, a theory that seems to have had its origin in Manichaeism. According to this theory Revelation is one. From the very beginning God has provided a revelation of His will and purpose for mankind, and at various points in human history, He has raised up men, prophets, to be the channels whereby he conveys that Revelation to His creatures. Each prophet sets forth the divine message in the language of his day and with that particular emphasis needed by that generation. When times have changed and the message in the form given by that prophet is no longer adequate to the needs of the times, another prophet is sent to re-express the message in terms suitable to the new age. It is essentially the same message sent through all the prophets, but grows clearer and fuller as humanity

¹ [We retain the spelling—*Muslim*, *Qur'an*, etc.—of the distinguished writer.]—*Editor*.

progresses and is more capable of appreciating and assimilating it. The message was first given to Adam, who was the first prophet. It was re-expressed by Enoch and again by Noah in view of the changed conditions of their respective ages. At a later critical point in human history Abraham was sent, at another Moses, at another Jesus, and finally Muhammad. Fundamentally they all preached the same message and all belonged to one succession, each prophet continuing the work of his predecessor, and with his new and fuller expression of the message superseding that of the prophet who went before him. Now Muhammad is the last of the prophets, the final prophet, the seal of the prophets. In him the divine message receives its final form, and will never again be re-expressed.

Thus Christian missionaries come to a Muslim audience as advocates of a stage in God's process of Revelation that has been superseded. Muslims admit the mission of Jesus which we represent, but claim that they are in possession of a yet fuller and more adequate presentation of the message that was the object of the mission of Jesus. Why then should they care to join our party? Their attitude is, that if a man wants to buy a motor car he does not willingly purchase a 1904 model with all its out-of-date features, but desires a 1934 model with all the latest improvements. That is one cause of their extreme annoyance at any success of Christian missions, for as they view it, we are not converting men and women to a religious experience that is higher and better and more perfect, but are dragging them back to a religious stage that has long since been a back number. To the Muslim mind our propaganda is for the restoration of a stage of religious development that is effete, out of date and an anachronism. We are trying to turn the clock backwards.

To come to particulars, the difficulties the Muslim mind finds with our message fall naturally and logically into three categories—(i) Those arising from the teachings of Muhammad himself, (ii) those which arose from the contacts between Islam and Christianity when Islam began

to extend its empire in territories largely Christian, (iii) those which have arisen in our own days through missionary contacts with Islam under the conditions of modern life.

I. DIFFICULTIES ARISING FROM MUHAMMAD'S OWN TEACHING

(a) Foremost among these must be reckoned *Muhammad's misconceptions of Christian belief*. Quite early in his life he came in contact with Christians both of Arab and non-Arab race, and in his book, the Qur'an, he deals fairly extensively with the Christian religion as he conceived it. His teaching with regard to Christianity has naturally been accepted by all his followers since, and a very important source of difficulty with regard to our message today arises from the serious misconceptions of Christian teaching that are contained in the Qur'an. We may just take a few examples.

(i) *The Trinity*. In spite of the extraordinary care taken by the theologians both of the Greek-speaking and Syriac-speaking Church, to emphasize the fact that Christians are monotheists and that the Unity of God is fundamental to any understanding of what we mean by the Trinity, the Qur'an teaches that we are tritheists. Now in the Islamic theology the most heinous of all sins is *shirk*, i.e., the giving of a partner to God, and as tritheists we Christians naturally come under the condemnation of *shirk*. So in the Muslim's philosophy of religion we do not stand on the upper stage among the monotheists such as Muslims, Jews and Buddhists. [?] We do not even stand as high as the Zoroastrians who are dualists, for we are tritheists and not very much better than the pagans with their grovelling polytheism. So in their eyes the conversion of a Muslim to Christianity, so far from being an advance in religion, is a reversion to a lower stage from the bonds of which their fathers with great travail were delivered.

Moreover, Muhammad's conception of the Trinity, was that it was composed of Father, Mother, Son—in other

words Mary is the Third Person of the Trinity. (Sura v:116) These divine triads of Father, Mother, Son, were quite well known in Oriental religions (e.g., the Egyptian Isis, Osiris and Horus), and we have evidence of many divine consorts associated with the deities of pre-Islamic Arabia. It was apparently thought that the Christian Trinity was of much the same nature, and to a man who had come to grasp the majestic conception of monotheistic faith, it seemed a horrible thing to introduce this sexual element into the Divine. The modern Muslim thinks the same of us. We may protest that we hold no such views, but he thinks we do, and thinks that he has ample evidence that we do. By the door of our institution here in Cairo there passes every morning a motor bus taking small children to a Christian school near by, and on the side of that bus there stares forth the sign—*Pensionnat de la Mère de Dieu*. It used to make a Muslim friend of mine fighting mad. "God's mother", he would say, "and who, pray, begot Him? Do you expect me in these days of modernity and enlightenment to believe that God Almighty chose some billowy-bosomed Jewess for a mistress and begot Himself!"

(ii) Or take the *Crucifixion*. From some source that we have not yet traced, Muhammad took over the idea of the Basilidian Gnostics that Jesus did not die on the Cross, but another on whom His likeness was cast, was crucified instead of Him, while He was taken up alive to heaven. (Sura iv:156). Now the cross is the centre of our preaching. All that religion means to us depends on the cross. Yet that preaching of the cross, which was to the Jews a stumbling block and to the Greeks foolishness, is to the Muslim falsehood. It is a lie—for "they did not crucify Him". So the cross which to us is the most sacred symbol of our faith, is to them merely the symbol of a tremendous hoax perpetrated on this believing world.

(iii) Or again take *Scripture*. The Muslim view of Scripture, derived from the above mentioned theory of Revelation, is that every prophet had a book, which

contained the message God gave him for his generation. His book contained God's word, God's instructions, God's commands, God's promises—it is all the word of God to man. Now if one opens our New Testament, it is obvious at a glance that it is not such a book. There we have what Matthew, or Luke or John relates, as to what Jesus did and said, where He went, what people said to Him and what He replied, what His disciples did, etc., etc. But this, the Muslim says, is Tradition (*Hadith*) not Scripture. He also has his books of Tradition telling what Muhammad did and said, where he went, and what people said to him, etc. In our preaching we constantly urge the necessity of searching the Scriptures, and we devote much effort to translating and circulating the New Testament so that the Muslim may know what our faith is. The Muslim admits that Jesus had a book as every other prophet had a book, but what we circulate is not that book, it is only the collection of our traditions, which, however interesting, is nevertheless not Scripture. On the other hand his Qur'an is Scripture, it is the word of God to man, indeed it is the only surviving example of a sacred Book.

And so one might go on piling up these difficulties which arise from Muhammad's own teaching about our Christian faith and which have built up in the Muslim mind an enormous prejudice against even giving our message a hearing. But we must move on to consider another aspect of his teaching that has an even more subtle influence against us.

(b) *The tendency to materialize Spiritual things*

We remember Paul's injunction about the necessity of—*Πνευματικῶς Πνευμάτιχα συγκρίνειν*—understanding spiritual things in a spiritual way, and yet we find in the Qur'an a disconcerting inability to do this. In his recent book, "The Reconstructon of Religious Thought in Islam", Sir Muhammad Iqbal, the Indian Muslim, devotes a chapter to "The Spirit of Muslim Culture", in which he points out that the characteristic feature of Muslim thought is its interest

in the concrete and finite as opposed to the Greek tendency towards the abstract and theoretical. As a matter of fact that is not so much Muslim as Arab, or indeed Semitic, for it is prominent in pre-Islamic poetry of Arabia whether pagan or Christian, and is characteristic of other Semitic literatures. It certainly is prominent in the Qur'an, and reveals itself in a constant tendency to concretize spiritual things and understand them in a materialistic way. Take for example the doctrine of Sonship. As one reads the theologians of the Greek-speaking and Syriac-speaking Church, one is impressed by the care they take to remove their discussion of the Sonship far away from natural, humanistic implications. Yet in the Qur'an the Sonship is always conceived in purely sensuous, materialistic terms. Over and over again Muhammad rejects with scorn the idea that God could have a son, apparently never having even remotely understood the spiritual relationship which the Christian doctrine was endeavoring to express. Another instance is in the doctrine of the Spirit. We can see two quite distinct stages in the Qur'an's treatment of the Spirit. In early passages the *Ruh* is a very, vague, indefinite entity, somehow connected with the angels and with the *Amr* (the effective *Logos*) of Allah. Quite suddenly, however, Muhammad learns of the connection of the Spirit with Revelation and of Gabriel's connection with bringing God's messages. So the *Ruh* and Gabriel are identified, and as soon as the conception of Spirit is thus concretized, thus embodied in a form, there is no further difficulty with it. The same thing emerges in connection with Inspiration. There has been no heresy in the Christian Church over inspiration, for the teaching thereanent was quite intelligible to the world to which that teaching came. The conception of *inspirare*, of the message that was θεόπνευστος—Godbreathed, which came from God and was gradually clothed in thought-forms and then translated by the Prophet into the language of his contemporaries, perhaps quite differently translated by two different prophets facing two different environments, was quite

familiar to that world. The Muslim doctrine of Inspiration, however, is concretized. It is the dictation of a merchant prince to his secretary, of an official to his scribe,—he dictates, the scribe merely reproduces and the more mechanically he reproduces the better job he does. The same thing is evident in the Qur'anic conception of God, where the physical attributes of power, might, etc., are far more prominently developed than the ethical attributes, i.e., the concrete is prominent rather than the spiritual. Naturally, therefore, the fundamental Christian conception of a suffering God is to the Muslim an impossibility in view of God's almightiness.

Now the result of this concretizing, this materializing of spiritual concepts, is that frequently in our preaching to Muslims we are dealing with realities that are quite foreign to their understanding. I remember years ago talking over this with Tahir Effendi Khemiri when we had been reading some of the jibes, in an Indian Muslim paper, concerning the Trinity. The editors derived great amusement from calling on the Christians to explain by what new process of mathematics they could make an equation $1+1+1=1$, and he told me how a flood of light had come to him through the following illustration. If I have three oranges and I give you one, then I have only two left to enjoy myself. But if my morning's mail brings me three pieces of good news that make my heart rejoice, and I go and seek you out and give you one of my pieces of good news that you may rejoice, I still have three for myself. Nay more, I now have four, for I rejoice also in the fact that you have received joy from the news which I have given you. In the realm of oranges and material things one from three leaves two, but in the realm of spiritualities one from three may well leave four. Thus in our preaching to Muslims we encounter this peculiar difficulty that we are frequently dealing with a realm of values utterly foreign to their thinking. Where we are talking in terms of a realm where one from three may leave four, they are interpreting it in terms of a purely concrete,

finite, material realm whose values are that one from three leaves two.

This same tendency to concretize is the source of yet another difficulty in their minds. Muslims very frequently have the greatest difficulty in understanding our Protestant attitude to Prayer. To them Prayer is definitely associated with ceremonial purifications, with ritual performance, with specified genuflections, with regulated times and places, and our attitude towards prayer seems so off-hand and irreverent. It is true that the Muslim recognizes the difference between *du'a* (spontaneous prayer) and *salat* (ritual prayer), but prayer in the spiritual sense in which we take it, where it is not concretized, is to him a great difficulty. Similarly our indifference to fasting and pilgrimage, which are to him such concrete expressions of religious life, is to the great mass of Muslims inexplicable, and makes them feel that Christians do not really understand religion at all.

(c) *The Inadequacy of the Conception of Sin*

One summer vacation my holiday task was to work through the Qur'an in order to draw out an outline of Qur'anic theology. At the conclusion of the task when the notes were assembled, I had quite a mass of material classified under the Doctrine of God, an almost equal mass under Eschatology, goodly sections under Creation and Providence, Doctrine of Man, Scripture, etc., but to my amazement I had a bare two pages under Soteriology—the section which in a work of Christian theology would have been the largest. There is, of course, a doctrine of Sin in the Qur'an. There are passages where men are blamed for their evil doing, are threatened with punishment, are urged to repent, and promised reward for doing good. Such sins as disobeying the injunctions of God's messenger, of offending against the social order, etc., do come in for censure and reproof. Yet of sin in the sense of moral obliquity there is little trace. Sin is something with which man him-

self can deal. Of that sense of sin that needs a Saviour there is no conception.

Now our preaching assumes this sense of sin and the need of a Saviour. Where that sense is absent our preaching falls on deaf ears, and it is absent very generally in Muslim audiences. I remember the case of a young Muslim who was enquiring about being baptized and joining the church. The missionary who talked with him enquired why he wanted to become a Christian. His reasons seemed rather indefinite, so the missionary asked him if he did not want to be saved from his sins. "Why, my dear Sir", he said, "I have never sinned". He was quite sincere. In his sense of the word sin he had never sinned. He had never been in the habit of doing those things that he could call sin. Like the rich young ruler, all these things he had kept from his youth up. Well! if a man feels no need of salvation, why should he be interested in a Saviour? To him we have no message, for our Gospel is the good news of a Saviour.

(d) *The Deterministic Attitude to Life*

The one thing that Europeans generally know about Islam is that it is a fatalistic system. Some modern Muslims have objected to this characterization, but it must be admitted that it is in general correct. There are passages in the Qur'an where men are rebuked for what they have done, where they are urged to repent and to do this and that. These passages certainly assume man's free will and power of choice, but they are really only instances of the fact that it is impossible to carry through consistently any thorough-going deterministic system. The tenor of the Qur'anic teaching is frankly deterministic. Man's fate is predetermined before he is born; all is written, and man's life is inextricably caught up in the wheels of a deterministic system. Some western-educated Muslims of our day may object to this, but it is the common tradition of orthodox Islam. One very frequently hears quoted the common Tradition that when Allah prepared the clay for the creation

of mankind, He divided it into two portions, saying—"This portion for Hell and I don't care, and this portion for Heaven and I don't care", or this, "The souls of men are between the fingers of the most High. Whom He will He guides aright, and whom He will He damns".

This has led to a very definite rejection of responsibility in Muslim life. We used to have a notice board at the College where students could post notices, and it was not infrequent to find a notice like this. "A pen has gone from 'Abd ar-Ra'uf, will the finder please return". To say, "'Abd ar-Ra'uf has lost a pen", would be to admit his responsibility, which he did not admit, so it was the pen which had gone from him. One summer my wife and I stayed out at Ma'adi and our city milk man agreed to deliver milk there. So the milk boy used to come out by the early train and arrive before breakfast. One morning he was very late, and as the servant had already gone into the market I had to take in the milk. "So", I said to the boy, "you missed the train this morning". "No", he answered, "I did not miss the train". "Well how does it come about that you are so late?" "Oh", he said, "The train left this morning before I got there". The responsibility involved in missing the train he would not admit. It was written that the train should start before he got there that morning and that was all.

Now our Gospel is a clarion call to men to face their own responsibility, to work out their own salvation along the road that had been opened by a Saviour. What response, however can be expected from an audience which believes that every man's fate is irrevocably fixed, and that nothing we can do will affect the final result one way or the other? We are calling them to an endeavor that they know is hopeless before they start; for how can any man profit by flying in the face of his destiny?

II. DIFFICULTIES THAT AROSE IN EARLY ISLAM

As the Muslim armies conquered wider and wider territories, communities of Muslims began to be formed in

many centres in Syria, Mesopotamia, and North Africa, where there was a Christian population of long standing. Mr. Browne of Lahore has recently told us again the sad story of the eclipse of the church in those areas, but we are interested just now in problems that that contact raised.

(a) Firstly, there was that of the *Ideal Man*.

The Muslims found these Christian communities looking on Jesus as the Ideal Man. The theory of the Christian life was that it should be an *Imitatio Christi*. The Muslims countered this by developing a doctrine of *al-Insan al Kamil*, where Muhammad appears as the ideal man, and where there is a theory that life should be in some sense an *Imitatio Muhammadis*. This has been very thoroughly worked out and is dominant in Muslim thinking today. We Christian missionaries are instructed that we must preach Christ, and we do preach Christ, but our Muslim friends counter that by their claim that we are preaching a very limited ideal, whereas they have the perfect ideal.

Their theory is based on the conception of Revelation which we have already discussed. Each prophet came with the message in a form that was relevant to his own age, and each prophet, they say, embodied in his own life the ideal that was peculiarly necessary for his contemporaries. Abraham, for instance, was the father of a people. He set the patriarchal ideal. Moses was the lawgiver and a great nationalist leader who delivered his people from their oppression, welded their scattered tribes into a nation, and legislated for their national and social life. David was a king who led his armies to battle, who treated with foreign powers and received embassies from foreign potentates. Solomon was a philosopher whose wise sayings became proverbial. (Eastern philosophy as you know is gnostic rather than dialectic). Jesus was an ascetic who never married or shared in the social life of men, but lived a holy, pure, ascetic life of renouncement of the world and its pomps. In Muhammad, however, who is the seal of the prophets, we find all these perfections united. Like Abraham

he was the father of a people. Like Moses he was a national leader and lawgiver. Like David he was a king who led the armies to battle and treated with potentates. Like Solomon he was a philosopher with whose wise sayings the books of tradition are filled. Like Jesus he was an ascetic who renounced this world for the sake of the next. All their perfections are taken up into him and find in him their ideal exponent.

Muhammad is thus the all-round man, and consequently the only satisfactory ideal. Jesus can never be such an ideal because of His limitations. For instance Jesus was never married, so how can He give us an example to follow in this very important aspect of man's life. Muhammad, on the contrary, had thirteen wives, and so had great experience. Moreover, as there are thirteen types of women in the world, and Muhammad had a wife of each type, we can find in him an example to follow no matter what type of wife falls to our lot. For many years Muhammad lived as a monogamist with his first wife Khadija, so that the modern monogamist can look to that period of his life for example, while the polygamist can look to his later life. Some of his wives were older than himself and some were younger, some he married as virgins, and some widows and some as divorced women, so that we can find example in him for all sorts and conditions. Again Jesus had no children, but Muhammad had children both male and female. Jesus was a man of peace. So was Muhammad, but he was also a man of war, and provides us an example of how to conduct ourselves in this strife-full world. And so on. The *Imitatio Muhammadis* they say, is a better guide to the full all-round life than the *Imitatio Christi*, which means confining the ideal to too narrow a groove.

(b) *Practicability and Impracticability*

Another difficulty that arose through this contact was that Muslims found the outstanding characteristic of Christian life in these communities was Monasticism. The best minds, the best lives in Christian communities went

into the monastic life. Muhammad had referred to this in the Qur'an and it was brought home to the Muslims very forcibly in their contact with Christian communities in Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia. To them this was a sure token that Christianity had had its day as a world religion. What mankind was wanting was a practical religion for daily life, a religion that the common man could share and enjoy, and which could be taken into every sphere of man's daily living. Christianity as they saw it, could only be perfectly followed by those who were willing to cut themselves off from the ordinary stream of life, and live apart an ascetic life of otherworldliness. As it is manifestly impossible for more than a very small proportion of any people to thus separate themselves for the religious life, Muslims looked on Christianity as an impractical religion, unsuited to the work-a-day life of the masses of common folk. Islam, on the contrary, was a simple, practical religion, admirably suited to the masses who wanted a religion easily connected up with their daily affairs. This attitude of mind has persisted, so that Muslims still very generally look on the Christian religion as one that has failed to make itself a practical religion for practical people.

(c) *A Divided Church*

Yet another difficulty was the fact that the Christianity which Muslims found in these regions was hopelessly divided. The Qur'an itself mentions this fact. There were Arians and Apollinarians, Eutychians and Nestorians, Monophysites and Monothelites, Jacobites and Melkites, all hostile to one another, and sometimes bitterly persecuting one another. Each party among these warring sects claimed to be the only true representative of Christian teaching, and sometimes the parties differed widely among themselves in their statements of essential Christian belief. Which, then, was the real Christianity? We may, of course, be tempted to reply with a *tu quoque*, and point to the divisions within Islam, Sunnis and Shi'as, Zaidites and Wahhabites, Ahmadis and Beha'is, but this does not lessen the problem

he feels in the divided presentation of Christianity. This difficulty has survived in present-day Islam. Here in Egypt it is particularly acute. We have Copts of various kinds, Armenians of various kinds, Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholics, Roman Catholics, Protestants of various kinds—and if we no longer mutually anathematize one another, we nevertheless present very different interpretations of the Christian message. To us who realize the essential unity of all Christians, this is not altogether bad in spite of its inconveniences, for we know that the Spirit of Christ is far too rich and varied to be embodied in its entirety in any one church. To the Muslim, however, it inevitably presents the problem of which is the real Christianity.

Turning now to more modern problems and perhaps from our point of view more pertinent ones, though they must be stated very briefly, we face—

III. DIFFICULTIES THAT HAVE ARISEN FROM MISSIONARY CONTACTS

The modern missionary movement necessarily included Islam within the scope of its activities, and as a result certain new problems have arisen. We may mention three, (i) the association of Christianity with western imperialism, (ii) the query whether Christianity is pragmatic, (iii) the problem of brotherhood. In dealing with these I cannot do better than to refer to an article which appeared some years ago in a German magazine, and which bore for its title "*Ist der Islam eine Gefahr in Deutsche Südwest Afrika?*" The writer was a missionary, and he set forth four reasons why Islam was appealing more than Christianity to the African mentality.

(i) It was a black man's religion. Wherever Islam came it came as something indigenous, but wherever Christianity came it came associated with western imperialism. As a matter of fact this problem was present in Arabia at the time of Muhammad. There is good reason to believe that part of Muhammad's own prejudice against Christianity was that in the Arabia of his day becoming a Christian

meant as a rule coming under the suzerainty of one of the surrounding imperialistic powers.

In modern days this difficulty has become acute. Not only is there western political expansion with which are associated such irksome things as capitulations, but there is western cultural and economic expansion. It is almost inevitable that the missionary should be regarded as associated with this western influence. We are protected by the western political powers, our schools teach western languages and culture, and we are frequently charged with encouraging western economic interests to the detriment of the native peoples. This has reacted against our religious message. Many a man who has spiritually broken with Islam nevertheless avoids Christianity because of its western implications. Islam as a religion he has abandoned, but he clings to Islam as a social and cultural force because he can use this as a bulwark against westernization.

Moreover, the missionary, at least in the Near East, is too frequently associated with disaffected minorities. It is of course inevitable that the missionary should be associated with the local indigenous Christian groups, but that in itself is in Muslim eyes a prejudice against us, for it brands us as being, from his point of view, an anti-nationalistic force, whose influence can only be harmful to national aspirations.

(ii) It is a simple religion. We have so overloaded our message with a weight of theological technicalities that Christianity appears to the African mind as a very complicated, difficult thing. On the other hand Islam is very simple. One has to believe that Allah is the only God, and that Muhammed is His Prophet. Apart from that there are a few simple ritual prescriptions, and that is all. It is clear, simple and easily understandable, whereas the teaching of the Christian missionary is extraordinarily difficult to grasp. Islam, therefore is regarded as more suited to the African mind. It is pragmatic. It comes within the range of the things he can assimilate and make effective in his

daily life, from which Christian teaching often seems hopelessly remote.

(iii) It is an easy religion. The Qur'an, indeed, expressly remarks on this (Sura lxxxvii:8, etc.), and to the African it appears so. If he become a Christian he has to give up his polygamy and concubinage, he has to make a complete break with the old life and the old ways, and must live on what to him is a very high plane of conduct. Thus he finds Christianity very difficult. Islam on the other hand is an easy religion which does not expect too much of human nature. If he becomes a Muslim he can still continue his polygamy and concubinage, can still retain a very great deal of the old life, and live on a plane of conduct not so very different from that of his pagan days.

Modern Muslims make much of this idea. To them the missionary is the advocate of a religion that is quite impractical. Even if it were true, no one could ever attain to it. Modern life is modern life, and the modern man must have a practical religion that he can make some sort of a success of under the conditions of modern life. That Christianity is quite incapable of furnishing this is to him patent from the fact that in the so-called Christian countries of the west the great masses of the people make no attempt to practise the Christianity they are supposed to believe. Islam on the contrary is pragmatic, and it is a perfectly workable religion in a work-a-day world.

Examples of this superiority of Islam are frequently quoted. The existence of prostitution in the west is supposed to demonstrate that the Islamic provision of polygamy and concubinage is better suited to human nature. The growing prevalence of divorce, particularly in America, is similarly taken as proof of superior practicality of the divorce facilities provided by Islam. The inception of Prohibition in the United States was widely acclaimed as a demonstration that a great western nation has found itself compelled to abandon its Christian standards in face of a great social evil, and to embrace the social provision of Islam. Above all, however, it is the sins

of the west, and the supposedly utter failure of Christianity to impose its morality on western peoples that is taken as a proof of the superiority of Islam as a practical religion for modern life.

(iv) Islam draws no color line. Islam preaches brotherhood and lives it. Christians preach brotherhood but do not live it. The Muslim missionary goes to a pagan tribe. He marries four wives from the tribe. He has sons and daughters, and he marries his sons to their daughters, and his daughters to their sons. He is one of them. The Christian missionary comes, but does he marry even one wife from their tribe? No! he brings a white wife from his own land, he sends his sons to find white wives in that home land, and his daughters he would sooner shoot dead than marry to the young men of the tribe. It is useless to try to explain to them the reasons for our horror of miscegenation, or to point out that it is a matter of breed and not religion, high breeds whether Christian or non-Christian refusing intermarriage, and low breeds, whether Christian or non-Christian, feeling no objection to it. The fact that is obvious to him is that of the two religions preaching brotherhood, one lives it and the other does not. That difficulty is widely felt among Muslims today. In Islam they have a brotherhood that is real and practical, but in Christianity they feel that there is no brotherhood.

Such then, very briefly summarized, is the problem faced by a missionary who comes to a Muslim land. My task was to point out the difficulties the Muslim feels as we present our message. The treatment could not, of course, be exhaustive, and there may be particular difficulties characteristic of particular localities, which have not been touched on here, but sufficient has been outlined to set the nature of the problem before you.

—“ORIENTALIST.”

A LIFE OF MOHAMMED FOR CHILDREN

BY SAYYID NAWAB ALI

One of the most illuminating interviews during the visit of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India (the Lindsay Commission) was one with an outstanding Moslem educator in the north of India. He spoke freely and frankly of the rapid spread of the spirit of secularism and irreligion among the Moslem youth in the high schools and colleges, and of the efforts being put forth by the leaders of that community to stem this tide. Among them is the preparation of a series of text-books on Islam in Urdu, especially designed for these days.

This article deals with the first in the series, a life of "Our Prophet" for the youngest children. The book itself is not a new one, having appeared first in 1909, but as the *Shukriya* tells us, it was found eminently satisfactory for preliminary use, while the series is in preparation, and is now put forth officially as a text for children. The author is Sayyid Nawab Ali, M.A., professor in Baroda College, and the book is published under the imprint of the Maktaba Jami' Mulli Islamiya of Delhi (1928). It is dedicated to Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, since deceased.

We give a synopsis or translation of each chapter:

Chapter 1. Bibi Amina was a woman of very good repute among the families of the Koreish. Her marriage took place in Mecca with the son of the Sirdar Abd-ul-Muttalib, Abdullah. God's beloved, Our Prophet, Mohammed, was "the only begotten son" of these. Two or three weeks before his birth a Christian king made an attack on Mecca, and, bringing with him very big elephants, desired to overthrow the Ka'aba and to capture and carry away the Koreish, "but, with the blessing of Our Prophet, a great many *ababilyan*,¹ lifting stones with their beaks and claws, by the order of God, darkened the sky and began to rain the stones upon the heads of the enemy. These stones were so destructive that the enemy could no longer remain."

¹ Swallows.

"Poor Bibi Amina was hid in the mountain when the enemy fled. When she came home Our Prophet was born on Monday in the morning. He was named Mohammed. What a dear name it is. In his honor God caused a great commotion in the earth and sky. By his blessing all plagues were removed. In Mecca there was famine, and disease was rife. At the very hour of his birth the rain fell and pestilence disappeared."

Chapter 2. This chapter records the death of Abdullah before Mohammed's birth, the early death of his mother, and the sadness of his orphaned state. "He had neither his father's shadow nor his mother's lap to play in, no brother and no sister. His uncle, Abu Talib, brought him up in great affection, and delighted in his innocent face and his dear words. Like Moses he was sent to the jungle to herd goats, and did the work of the house, and lived on good terms with all." In his youth, one of the women of his clan, Bibi Khadijah, gathered her wealth for merchandise and committed it to Mohammed and sent him to the west. He sold at great profit, and "rendered his account *kowrie* by *kowrie*. Bibi Khadijah, who was a widow, greatly pleased with his honesty, labor, and ability desired marriage with him, and it was arranged through Abu Talib. She served him, and he loved her."

Chapter 3. Khadijah buys in the market a slave boy—Zaid—for Mohammed, who loved him dearly, and he Mohammed. Zaid refuses to be ransomed by his father, because it would separate him from his master. The chapter closes with a significant paragraph: "Our Prophet was very kind to children. He placed his hands affectionately on their heads, and took them in his arms."

Chapter 4. When Mohammed was forty years of age, God sent the angel Gabriel, who was God's messenger to Moses, Jesus, and all the prophets, and gave command: "O Mohammed, tell my people good words. Keep them from evil words, and make them all walk upon straight roads."

"Mohammed hearing God's command went up on Mt. Safa, and called his friends and the men of the Koreish, and when they came to him, he taught them, saying: 'O people, if I should say to you that behind this mountain a large army is concealed to beat you and rob you, would you believe me?' They all made reply, 'Yes, we would believe you, for we know well that since childhood to this day you have never told a lie. You have always thought of our welfare. So whatever you tell us, we will believe it.'

"Hearing this Our Prophet cried aloud, 'My people, you hold me truthful, then listen. One day all of us must go before the ruler of this world. As you do, so will you receive. There no one can help another. Nor will your idols be of any use, and no one

will plead for you before God. Then believe in one God, who is the Provider, and who is kinder than father or mother.' Hearing this, the good became Moslems, and the bad became *Kafirs*."

Chapter 5. Here we learn how he preached to rich and poor, high and low alike. His enemies persecuted him and called him magician and insane. "Mercy! Mercy! No matter how evil they spoke of him, God's beloved, Our Prophet paid no attention to it and kept on with his good words and with his teaching how to live righteously." Whenever he appeared some *Kafir* was sure to throw dirt on him, or to put thorns in his path, by which his feet became bloody. His followers also were similarly persecuted: the wealthy they cursed, while as for the poor, some they stretched on the burning ground at noon and placed rocks on their chests, and some they beat with stripes, but like good Moslems they bore all trials patiently, and never denied the holy faith of Islam.

Chapter 6. In this chapter we have Mohammed's temptation by a big *Sirdar* of the *Kafirs*. With extreme gentleness he approached and said to Mohammed, "O son of my brother, if from this work you expect to gather wealth, then tell us and we shall get together and make you overflow with riches; if it is honor and rank you desire, then, come, we shall make you our chief citizen. If it is authority you desire, then say the word, and we shall make you our king.' Hearing this Our Prophet replied, 'O *Sirdar*, I desire none of these. Go and say just this to the people that they, obey the one God, and from Him seek the forgiveness of their sins.'"

Chapter 7. Mohammed sends many of his persecuted followers to the land of the Ethiopians, who had a Christian king. The *Kafirs* likewise send their messenger to this king. A *darbar* is held. Mohammed's cousin speaks: "O king, we were worshippers of idols, unclean, eaters of carrion, quarrelers, and chatterers. God has been very gracious to us in that He has created in our clan a prophet whose name is Mohammed. He is a very noble, righteous, and truthful man. He has explained to us that we should obey one God, leave off idolatry, speak the truth, keep our promises. O king, we have obeyed the word of our Prophet. Therefore our clan is angry with us, and has persecuted us to the extent that leaving our homes we have come to your land for refuge." He then recited the Sura Maryam so effectively that tears filled the eyes of the king and the *padrees* of the *darbar*, and they exclaimed, "Without doubt this is the word of God. Christ in the Gospel foretold such a prophet. Of a truth Mohammed is the Apostle of God." "Saying this they all of them, with their king, later became Moslems."

Chapter 8. Mohammed visits Ta'if and preaches, but their rulers were filled with pride in their wealth, and neither listened to the

word, nor respected "our Prophet", and set on him boys and slaves who cursed and stoned him, and drove him out of the city. He sits under a palm tree wounded and hungry and thirsty and prays, "O Lord. Thou art pleased. Thou art no sorrow. I shall be diligent in proclaiming Thy word. Do Thou alone come to my help." He returns to Mecca, and meets the pilgrims and some from Medina who, hearing the word of God, believe on him.

Chapter 9. Mohammed sleeping in the Ka'aba is summoned to Heaven by Gabriel. He is taken first to the Holy House, where he prays, then to heaven, where he talks with Isa and Musa, Joseph and Abraham, Noah and Adam, and with all the prophets. God calls him above the heavens to Himself, where He speaks with him, and gives him high rank and appoints the five times of prayer, from which men too will receive high rank at the hands of Allah. Mohammed returns, having seen the wonders of the heavens, and having received the blessings of angels and prophets, and is escorted home by Gabriel before the night ends.

Chapter 10. Fellow-Medinaites hearing the report concerning Mohammed from their pilgrims come joyfully to him at Mecca. They hear the word of God, become Moslems, and invite Mohammed to Medina, reminding him of the difficulties for himself and his followers in Mecca, and pledging their own enthusiasm and service. Mohammed accepts and the Moslems depart for Medina. When he makes preparations for his own departure, the Kafirs are embittered, and plan to slay him, and hide themselves day and night near his dwelling, watching for the opportunity to kill him. But God saves him, the infidels are able to do nothing and he escapes from the house and outside the city, where he hides himself in a cave. In the morning horsemen scour the country, and all share in the search. Some reach the cave, and Mohammed's companions despair of life, but he answers them, "Why be sorrowful? God is with us. See the spectacle of divine power! Over the mouth of the cave a spider stretched its web, and wild pigeons laid their eggs." The infidels return fruitless. The third day Mohammed comes out of the cave. A solitary horseman spies him and takes up the pursuit. God rescues His beloved Prophet. The horse stumbles and the rider is thrown upon stony ground. "Our Prophet had mercy upon his enemy and prayed for him, whereupon he arose and repented and believed on Mohammed."

Chapter 11. Mohammed makes a mosque with his own hand at Medina, and the worship of the "holy God" goes on without interruption. "Mohammed announces that he who treats God's creatures affectionately, and loves little children, to him God will be kind. 'O people, feed the destitute, deal honorably with your own

dear ones and with strangers. With a smiling countenance greet and mingle with one another. Do good yourselves and teach one another to do good.' ”

“The leader of the Jews, Abdullah ibn Salaam, when he heard the exhortation of Mohammed, and saw upon his face the light of God shining, immediately recited the creed. In this way a multitude of Medinaites became Moslems.” The embittered Meccans attacked frequently in order to kill Our Prophet and wipe out Islam, but God gave victory to Islam.

Chapter 12. This interesting chapter we translate in full: “In the battle of Uhud the infidels with their arrows and stones so wounded Our Prophet that he fainted and fell. The infidels thought that he was killed, but God kept Our Prophet alive. He arose and stood on his feet, and prayed for his enemies: ‘O God, forgive my people, for they know not what they do.’—(*Khudawand meri qaum ko baksh de, yih jante nahin hain ki kya kar rahe hain.*)

“One day he was sleeping alone under a tree when a Kafir whose name was W’asur suddenly leaped out and, drawing his sword, said, ‘O Mohammed, now who is able to save you?’ Our Prophet sat up and answered, ‘God is my rescuer.’ Saying this he suddenly grabbed the sword of W’asur, and said, ‘Now, you tell me who will save you?’ W’asur, despairing of his life, began to say, ‘No one.’ Our Prophet, hearing this, threw away the sword, and said, ‘W’asur, go pick up your sword, and learn from me to have mercy.’ W’asur so felt the influence of the courage and mercy of Our Prophet that that very moment he repented, and, reciting the creed, became a Moslem.”

Chapter 13. For seven years the Meccans attacked in vain. Mohammed took Mecca. The Meccans, the very men who had tormented the Moslems and sought to kill them, pleaded for mercy, “‘Our good brother, have pity on us’, and the Prophet answered, ‘I have forgiven all of you. Go, you are all free.’ The infidels, believing that their guilt was beyond forgiveness, and that they surely would have to pay the penalty, yet seeing the mercy and kindness of Our Prophet were greatly ashamed, and began to say, ‘Truly you are the true Prophet and the mercy of God.’ From that very day the infidels repented and all believed on him.”

“Among these infidels was the murderer of Zeinab, the oldest daughter of Our Prophet. On that day he kept silent from fear, then stood before the Prophet with his hands joined together, and said, ‘I am now deeply ashamed.’ Our Prophet bowed his head, and answered, ‘Why are you now ashamed? Go, I have forgiven you.’ ”

Chapter 14. The Negro slave and slayer of Mohammed's uncle, Hamza, at Uhud, and who had torn out the heart of his victim, fled fear-stricken on the capture of Mecca. Hither and yon he went, but could find no shelter. So he returned and gave himself up to Mohammed with the one request, "Before you do with me as you will, let me hear the word of God from your lips." Mohammed recited to him the verse, "Say: O my servants who have transgressed to your own hurt, despair not of God's mercy, for all sins doth God forgive." (Rodwell's translation of Sura 39, verse 54). The man hearing this began to say, "Can my sin also be forgiven?" Our Prophet answered, "Why not?" The Negro repented at once and believed on him.

Chapter 15. The daughter of Hatim Tai was among the captives of Yemen. Mohammed visited the captives, and she said to him, "I am the daughter of Hatim, chieftain of my people, who is known through all Arabia for his generosity. He is dead. My brother, defeated, is fled. I have today no helper, and I am a captive."

"Our Prophet with great tenderness and kindness spoke to her, 'Lassie, in your father were the qualities of a true believer. He was very liberal. Go. I have freed you.'" She asked mercy for her people. Mohammed freed them also, gave her money for the journey, and sent her back to her brother. As a consequence both became Moslems.

Chapter 16. In this chapter we have the account of how Christians became Moslems, and so we translate in full. "The Christians of Najran came to Our Prophet and said, 'The Christ was born of the Virgin Mary. He is the Son of God. Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, these three are one.' Our Prophet answered, 'The Christ indeed was born without a father, but tell me, who were the father and mother of Adam? Listen. The nature of God is pure, neither has He any son nor wife. He alone is the sustainer of the whole creation, and the Lord of all of us. Like unto Moses, Jesus also was a prophet, and a righteous servant of God.'

"Hearing this, the Christians began to argue. In the end this agreement was made, that the leader of the Christians and Our Prophet, each with his family, should pray for ruin on the one that was telling a falsehood. Our Prophet in the morning went forth on this wise, carrying his daughter's little son, Husain, in his arms, and holding the finger of his daughter's older son, Hassan. After them came Bibi Fatima, his daughter, and, behind her, her husband Ali.

"The leader of the Christians seeing all this said, 'My brothers, let us never dispute with these. These are so manifestly good

servants of God, and there is such illumination on their faces, that if they should pray God that the mountains should remove from their places, without doubt God would answer their prayer.' The Christians hearing this were convinced, and later believed on Our Prophet."

Chapter 17. We translate this also in full.

"Whenever one in need came to Our Prophet he gave him his own food, himself remaining hungry, and gave him his own clothing, taking it off his own body, and never did he refuse to answer any man's question. He lived always a straight and virtuous life. He sat with the poor and ate with the wretched.

"One day he lay in his little room upon a mat, and there being no mattress beneath him, the marks of the mat made their imprint upon his whole body. A Moslem seeing this said, 'The kings of Rum and Iran live in luxury, but, Our Prophet who is the king of the faith and of the world, Oh he lives in this poor style!' Our Prophet, hearing this, replied, 'I have no need for the luxury of the world. May God grant to me the death of the indigent.'"

Chapter 18. The miracles of Mohammed are recounted in this chapter. "Our Prophet exhibited very many miracles. One day he was in the jungle and many of the faithful were with him. It was excessively hot at noon, and there was no sign of water. Our Prophet picked up a little goat-skin bag in which there was a very little water and began to give drink to the people. All drank abundantly, and that little goat-skin bag became sufficient for hundreds of people.

"In this manner once a poor Moslem asked help from him, 'My father died in debt to the Jews. The Jews are pressing me hard, and asking for their rupees, but I am destitute.' Our Prophet answered, 'If you have anything in your possession, bring it.' He brought a few dates and put them down. Our Prophet spread his blessed hands over them and commanded, 'Now weigh these dates, and give them to your creditors.' He did so and weighed maunds of dates, and his whole debt was paid off.

"Many such miracles he displayed, but the greatest miracle is his Quran, whose like there is not and never will be."

Chapter 19. The Jews opposed Mohammed as enemies, and desired to kill him. Sometimes they fought, and sometimes they practised treachery, and sometimes they caused Medina to be attacked, but always were themselves "disgraced".

"One day Zeinab, the daughter of the Jewish chief, Haras, made a feast for Our Prophet, and secretly put poison in the food. When this became known to the Moslems they seized Zeinab, but Our Prophet said, 'Now, you release this woman. I have forgiven her.' The woman was released, but Our Prophet, at last, because

of the effect of this poison, took leave of this world in his sixty-third year, and went to God.

"He was buried in a room of the Prophet's mosque in Medina. Hundreds of thousands and tens of millions of Moslems from various lands come on pilgrimage and recite the *durud*, the 'praise of Mohammed.' "

Chapter 20. This is a chapter on the beliefs of Islam. "God caused His holy word—the *Quran sharif*—to descend upon Mohammed, than which in the world there is no greater book. This heavenly book teaches us the true religion of Islam.

"We believe in the One God; we worship Him alone. There is none like unto Him. None is associated with Him. Nor has He any son, nor any father. He alone has created earth and the sky, the moon and the sun and the stars, birds, animals, man—all of these, and provides for all of these. The angels are His holy servants, and day and night they obey His commands.

"This God is so kind, who for the sake of teaching us good things has sent everywhere His prophets, who each in his own generation has told the people of the true path. After all of these, God has sent our beloved Prophet, Mohammed the chosen one (upon him be peace), who has taught us Islam as so perfect a religion, that now there is no need of any further prophet until the day of judgment. Islam tells to the whole world the straight and pure road of salvation.

"Our Prophet gave us such good teaching that now Hindus and Christians, etc., are also constantly believing in the One God. We believe in him as the true Prophet, and we believe in all the prophets and good men that came before Mohammed as true.

"We believe that we shall live after death. Those who are good will be happy in Paradise, and those who are wicked will burn in Hell.

"We believe that all that Our Prophet has taught us he taught us by the command of God, and we ought to practise it accordingly. We are all sinners, but by the mercy of God we are not without hope. Our Prophet in his own life was accustomed to pray for his enemies. We love our beloved Prophet. Will he not pray to God on our behalf? God answered the prayer of Our Prophet. When Our Prophet prays for us, will not his prayer be answered? Without doubt we love our beloved Prophet Mohammed (upon him be peace). He will pray on our behalf to God, and God will keep us happy in the world and in religion."

*Drew Theological Seminary,
Madison, N. J.*

OSCAR MACMILLAN BUCK.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY AT TEHERAN UNIVERSITY

By the order of His Imperial Majesty Reza Shah Pahlavi, the Sepahsalar Theological College, located in the Sepahsalar Masjid of Teheran, Iran, has been revived as The Faculty of Theology and Philosophy of Teheran University, the newly organized University of the Ministry of Education of the Imperial Iranian Government.

In 1879 (1296 A. H.) Haji Mirza Hosein Khan Sepahsalar donated the grounds, adjoining the grounds of the present Parliament buildings of the Iranian Government, and the money for the construction of a mosque to be used as a school and a place of worship. This gift was made in accord with the customs and traditions concerning such religious endowments, the trust being made over to the reigning Shah of the country. Haji Mirza Hosein Khan died shortly after the work on the buildings was started but the work was carried on for seven years, 1884-5 to 1891-2 (1302-1309 A. H.), after the death of the donor, by a brother, Yahya Khan Moshir-o-Dowleh. Even this length of time was not sufficient to complete the buildings and with the death of this second brother interest in the project died, with the result that for some forty years little was done to carry out the wishes of the donor, either by way of completion of the buildings or the organization of a school. As a matter of fact the uncompleted building was not even kept in repair.

On January 21, 1931 (*Bahman* 1, 1309, Persian Solar Year) His Imperial Majesty Reza Shah Pahlavi ordered the Ministry of Education to take over the whole project, reorganize the school and complete the buildings. Later in the year a new program of studies, including a six-year middle school course, and three years of advanced studies,

was approved by the High Council of Education of the Ministry of Education. New entrance requirements were fixed and by means of competitive examinations thirty candidates were accepted in the school, fifteen of whom received *rials* one hundred twenty (approximately ten dollars) per month toward their living expenses. Tuition was free for all students. Provision was made for further examinations for admitting fifteen new students each year.

All of this was a vast improvement over conditions which prevailed prior to the promulgation of this new program by the Ministry of Education. While there were theological students living and studying at the Sepahsalar College there were no regular courses of study, and no entrance or final examinations. Occasional lectures were given by individual teachers, at which attendance was largely voluntary. All this has been changed by the new organization. As a matter of fact the reorganization of the Sepahsalar Theological College is only one phase of the manner in which the Iranian Government, through the Ministry of Education, has taken over the examining and licensure of theological students all over Iran.

Not only have studies been systematized in the theological college as a result of this reorganization, but other irregularities have also been stopped. Previously the buildings of the Masjid were used ostensibly for students of the College, but actually many of the students never studied a lesson with any teacher of the institution. For many the place was simply a free hostel. Yet some of these free roomers received financial grants from the Foundation, with which they carried on their studies in secular schools. Due to lack of proper supervision, oftentimes the rooms were filthy and there was opportunity for immoral practices on the part of some who, on one pretext or another, were permitted to use the buildings.

As a result of the new organization all of these loose practices have been ended. One of the first things that the Ministry of Education did when it took over the buildings was to remove all people living on the place, the rooms

were cleaned up, and work was started on repairing and completing different sections of the buildings. A library of approximately 4,000 volumes and manuscripts had been bequeathed to the College by the founder. It was his private library. That library, containing many valuable manuscripts, has been cataloged and new additions have been made. This work on the library alone should be invaluable in making these documents available for scholarship.

With the founding of Teheran University in 1934 (the law founding the University was passed by the Iranian Parliament March 29, 1934—*Khordad* 8, 1313, Persian Solar Year) the program of the Sepahsalar Theological College was further revised and it became a unit of the new University. According to this law passed by Parliament the new University is to consist of six faculties, one of which is the Faculty of Religion and Philosophy. This faculty is located, at present, in the buildings of the Sepahsalar Masjid.

According to this new program the Theological College (faculty) provides opportunity for study in three main branches; theology, philosophy (scholastic), and Iranian and Arabic Literature. The entire course of study, as reorganized, extends over nine years. It is divided into three cycles of three years each; the first, or preparatory cycle corresponds to the second cycle of the middle schools of the Ministry of Education. Students must have the first cycle middle school certificate in order to enter this first, or preparatory cycle of the Faculty of Theology and Philosophy. This first three years, therefore, is not properly a part of the University, but is, as its name indicates, a course leading up to entrance into this Faculty.

Entrance into the theological college proper of the University, that is, the first cycle of the two cycles included in the University department, is made conditional upon the holding of this preparatory certificate in theology. Those who have not studied in the special theological preparatory department, and who wish to enter the first cycle of the University department, must prepare themselves outside

and participate in the final examinations of this preparatory department. Those who are successful in the final examinations of this department receive "The Preparatory Diploma in Religion" and are entitled to the same rights and privileges as holders of the second cycle middle school certificate of the Iranian Government (Bachelier Diploma). It will be noted that this is a change from the first program made three years earlier, which provided for a six year middle school course, followed by only three years of advanced studies.

The students upon entrance into the higher department choose one of three courses of study, namely, theology, philosophy, or literature. At the end of the first three years in each of these courses of study final comprehensive examinations are held. Those who successfully pass these examinations receive the licenciante degree of their department. This degree is equivalent to the licenciante degree of any one of the other faculties of the University. Those who continue for the second cycle of three years in the university department and are successful in the final comprehensive examinations of this second cycle receive a degree which is equivalent to the doctor's degree of any other faculty of the University. Those who complete the course in theology receive the degree of "Doctor in Religious Law" (*Faqîh*). Those who complete the work in philosophy receive the degree of "Doctor of Philosophy" (*Hakîm*), while those who complete the course in Iranian and Arabic literature receive the degree of "Doctor of Literature" (*Adib*).

The licenciante certificate entitles the holders to teach in any of the middle schools of the Imperial Iranian government in their respective field, while those with doctor's degrees may teach in their field in the University. If those who are holders of the doctor's degree have also passed required courses in the science of education as taught in the State Teachers' College (the Education Faculty of the University) they shall be given precedence over all others.

In all courses of study, in addition to the regular lectures

and examinations, the professors are required to assign subjects to individual students upon which they are required to prepare papers for presentation and discussion before their fellow classmates and professors. Likewise, in addition to the final comprehensive examinations at the end of each cycle, the candidate must prepare a thesis on some topic agreed upon after consultation with their professors. The manner of approval for these theses has not yet been determined, but in all likelihood they will have to be approved by the University Council. That University Council of Teheran University (as provided for by the fundamental law of the University approved by Parliament) is already approving theses presented by professors and others in accordance with requirements of the fundamental law of the University, which stipulates that all professors of the different faculties which have now become a part of the University and who were not holders of a recognized doctor's degree, must prepare theses on approved subjects. After the presentation and approval of these theses, the University Council shall grant them the doctor's degree. The logical thing, therefore, is for this same Council to approve the theses of the theological students, at least of the candidates for the doctor's degrees.

For the first time, in June, 1934 (*Khordad*, 1313-Persian Solar year) candidates were ready for the final comprehensive examinations for the licenciate degree, and this year (1935) twenty-seven candidates are participating in these examinations. There has not been time as yet for any student to complete the course for the doctorate examinations.

The faculty of theology and philosophy at the present time comprises fourteen full-time professors and eight part-time professors. These men have been chosen on the basis of knowledge and previous experience. Technically the qualifications of this faculty are very high as far as information and knowledge goes.

In the addresses at the opening of the reorganized theological college there was a noticeable lack of any

mention of the religious functions of the institution, and little indication, if any, that the students of the College were being trained to lead the religious life and experience of their nation. Emphasis was laid upon the function of preserving and reviving certain branches of knowledge. Though education is indicated in the program as a possibility for some of the theological graduates, yet, actually, the graduates of the new State Teachers' College will be so much more adequately prepared for the new and modern education of Iran that it is difficult to visualize the contribution of the theological graduates to this program. Formerly too, the trained theologian could look forward to a useful position as an interpreter of Moslem civil and religious law, but with the recodification and increasing secularization of Iranian law, and the reorganization of the Law Faculty of the University for training young lawyers along modern lines, one can only question the possibilities of the theological student in this career in the new Iran. Therefore until the graduates of the new institution begin their work in life and demonstrate their social usefulness in modern Iran the question of the value of the new theological faculty, in spite of all the effort and thought which has been expended for its revival, must remain an open one.

OUTLINE OF PROGRAM OF STUDIES

Note: No mention is made in the following of the three year preparatory course. In general the subjects of this course include Persian language and literature, Arabic grammar, language and literature, History of Iran, and introductory courses in religious law, derivation of Moslem law, oratory and some mathematics.

A. DEPARTMENT OF THEOLOGY

Subjects studied during the first cycle of three years

1. Religious Law (*Fiqh*). Laws of Islam and their interpretation.
2. The derivation of the laws of Islam from the traditions and the sayings of Mohammed, the prophet (*Usūl*).
3. Apologetics (*kalām*). Intellectual proofs for religion.
4. Exegesis (*Tafsir*). A critical study of the text of the Quran.
5. Literary sciences (*'Ulum-i-adabieh*). A study of Arabic in order to attain a reading knowledge of the language; Arabic

grammar and rhetoric; Arabic poetry; and some Iranian literature.

6. A study of Moslem religious traditions in order to determine which are true and which are false (*'Ilm-ul-daraieh*).
7. Logic (*Mantiq*) and Philosophy (*Ilahiyat-i-am*). The principles of logic; and the philosophical and scientific proofs of the existence of God, i.e., theism.
8. History of Arabic Literature.
9. French.

Subjects studied during the second cycle of three years

1. Religious Law. (*Fiqh*).
2. The derivation of the laws of Islam. (*Usul*).
3. Philosophy. A study of the principles of philosophy.
4. Exegesis. (*Tafsir*).
5. History of Religion, that is, man's relation to God from the beginning of time to the present day with special emphasis on the history of the Moslem religion (*Tarikh-i-malal va nahal va dianat-i-Islam*).
6. The traditions of Shia' Islam (*Fiqh-ul-hadith*), that is, the traditions ascribed to the Twelve Imams together with a study of the Moslem law derived from those traditions.

Note: According to the Dean of the theological faculty, the above subject has not been studied in any Moslem theological college since the tenth century—that is, the third century of the Hejira.

7. Literary Sciences. (*'Ulum-ul-adabieh*).

B. DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

Subjects studied during the first cycle of three years

1. Apologetics. (*Kalām*).
2. Logic (*Mantiq*) and philosophy, theoretical and practical (*Hikmat-i-nazari va amali*), that is, the two divisions of philosophy according to medieval Moslem philosophy.
3. History of Arabic Literature.
4. Literary Sciences. (*'Ulum-ul-adabieh*).
5. History of Religions. (*Tarikh malal va nahal va tarikh-i-Dianat-i-Islam*).
6. Exegesis. (*Tafsir*).
7. French.

Second cycle of three years

1. Philosophy. (*falsafei-y-masha' va ashraq*). A special study of the philosophy of the Peripatetics and the Neo-Platonists.

2. History of Philosophy.
3. Exegesis. (*Tafsir*).
4. A study of Mysticism. (*'Arfan*).

C. DEPARTMENT OF LITERATURE

Subjects studied during the first cycle of three years

1. Arabic grammar and syntax. (*Sarf va nahv-i-Arabi*).
2. History of Arabic Literature.
3. Arabic Composition and Rhetoric. (*Ma'ani va bayan va badi'-i-Arabi*).
4. Persian Language and History of Iranian Literature.
5. Persian Composition and Rhetoric (*Ma'ani va bayan va badi'-i-Farsi*).
6. History of Iran and General History of the World.
7. Religious Law (*Fiqh*) and derivation of the laws of Islam (*Usul*).
8. Logic and philosophy.
9. French.

Subjects studied during the second cycle of three years

1. Arabic Grammar and Syntax. (*Sarf va nahv-i-Arabi*).
2. Arabic Composition and Rhetoric. (*Ma'ani va bayan va badi'*).
3. Prosody and Meter. (*aruz va qavafi*).
4. Religious Law (*Fiqh*) and derivation of Moslem Law.
5. Exegesis. (*Tafsir*).
6. Philosophy and History of Philosophy.
7. History of Iranian Literature.
8. A study of the appreciation and criticism of poetry. (*Qaraz-ul-Sha'r*).
9. History of Religions. (*Tarikh-i-malal va nahal*).
10. French.

Alborz College, Teheran

WALTER A. GROVES.

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SACRIFICIAL GIVING IN IRAN

(AN INTERCHURCH MOVEMENT)

During the Great War, the small band of eighteen American missionaries and the nearly fifty thousand Assyrian Christians and Armenians passed through very trying experiences. The presence in Urumia, now called Rezaieh, of some four thousand Russian troops that had been sent as an advance guard in the plan to effect a union with the British in Iraq through Iran, had insured safety to the Christians. Then they were suddenly withdrawn. Some ten thousand Christians followed the army, five days' march to the Russian border. Over thirty thousand who remained fled to the American Compound for safety. Imagine if possible what it meant for that small band of eighteen to take in, house, feed and protect that large crowd for *five* months.

Due to crowding, four thousand died of an epidemic, and among them were five Americans, including Malcolm Packard, Madelaine Perrochet, a Swiss lady who was there as teacher for the American children, and Mr. Pflaumer of the Christ Home Orphanage, who was killed by the Kurds. "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." The name of Dr. William S. Shedd, who was acting as leader for the eighty-three thousand who fled towards Baghdad, and who himself died on the way, may be included among those who died in Rezaieh itself.

The evacuation by the Russian troops occurred early in 1915. Their return five months later made it possible to send the poor Christians back to their looted and ruined villages.

In August, I was asked to go to the village of Geogtapa,

six miles from the city, to conduct a Communion service for the people.

In this village were four main congregations, the Protestant, Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Old Church Nestorian. On their return to the village they immediately organized for worship and asked the pastor of our church to act as their preacher, "for" said they, "at this time we need a man with a message." The Presbyterian Church consisted of over three hundred members, and was the banner church on the plain, if not of all Iran.

Self-supporting, that one village had sent out over fifteen preachers and evangelists, who ministered in Russia, Turkey, Iraq, and America.

The services were held under the shade of some large elm trees and near the ruins of the Old Nestorian Church. As I looked over that crowd of over a thousand I was deeply moved, and never felt the presence of the Holy Spirit more strongly. Most of them were in rags, and had lost their homes and possessions. Many had died in our Compound and some had been massacred in their flight to our mission. One who died the martyr death, Pastor Moses of the Old Nestorian Church, had been offered life if he would accept Islam, but he refused and was killed. His son is now pastor of our church there. I could not keep back the tears when I asked them to rise and sing the Doxology, "Praise God from whom all blessings flow". And yet even in their suffering they could praise God.

After the sermon I invited all who loved Jesus Christ and were trying to follow Him to come forward and partake of the Holy Communion. The first group were the Old Church Nestorians headed by their pastor. After they had communed they went back and sat down and were followed successively by the Roman Catholics, the Greek Orthodox and finally by our people, each group led by its priests. Some seven hundred had partaken of the bread and wine. When all had retired and were seated, a great sob went over the crowd and for some time no one could control himself. I never experienced any thing like it and

the Spirit was very near. When they had regained their composure, I told them one part of the service had been omitted, as we had not taken up the collection, and it must be a very liberal one, for we needed to repair one of the churches, as fall and winter were approaching, when we could not meet in the open. It seemed like mockery to ask for a collection, for if I had gone through the crowd, I could not have found two dollars in money. At that time they were dependent on relief for a living. But the Spirit prompted me to ask for their gifts.

The first one to rise was a woman. I shall never forget her haggard face and pitiful rags. She wore a black handkerchief, a sign of mourning. She said, "My husband died in your compound, and my only son was killed trying to save his sister who had been carried into captivity; O that they had killed her, for I can't sleep as I think of what she is suffering. My home lies in ruins, but I have a poplar tree in our field that has been spared. A carpenter offered me over twenty dollars for it but I refused. I would like to give that tree." The proceeds from the same would have given her some much-needed clothing and other necessities, but she gave *her all*.

Others followed in succession. A carpenter offered to make one of the windows, another one of the doors, a glazier offered to put in the glass free. The women and children offered to haul water, all of it in jars, over a quarter of a mile, for the mud and brick. Masons offered to repair the walls and others to make the brick. When we got through, we found that in cash and labor they had subscribed about four hundred dollars.

Paul's words came to mind where he speaks of the liberality of the Macedonian Church, "how that in a great trial of their affliction, the abundance of their joy and their deep poverty abounded to the riches of their liberality."

In what follows I did what any one else would have done and make no claim for generosity. I told them I could not make such a sacrifice as they had made but would be glad to lay my year's salary down as my offering. Some

expostulated and said it was too much, that a month's salary would be liberal, but I insisted, as I knew that we needed at least fifteen hundred dollars to repair the church.

A committee was organized to begin work the next day, and when I went home my wife said, "I hear you have subscribed our year's salary to repair the Geogtapa Church, and I am glad you did it". I borrowed money, therefore, at ten per cent (the usual rate being twenty per cent) and work was begun.

Not long after that we went to Tabriz to attend the Annual Meeting. We had not been there long before the American Consul, the Hon. Gordon Paddock, sent for me, and told me he had received a telegram from Mr. Volapec, American Minister in Bucharest, saying that he had received two hundred pounds sterling to be given to Mr. Coan, and asking where he was. I am not ashamed to say I was overcome for a moment, and then with an apology told him the reason. I asked who had sent the money and for what purpose it had been transmitted. He said he knew no more than I did. So on my request he telegraphed that it be sent, and it came the next day, was cashed and we were able to dedicate the church with a surplus of seven dollars, which was put into a new pulpit.

I tried for many years to see whether I could trace the gift and find out for what purpose it had been given. It was at least fifteen years before it was traced. The sequel is, perhaps, known to your readers. But does not this narrative show us what a wonderful God we have? How can we ever doubt Him? Would that we might trust Him more fully and believe that He never has and never will fail those who take Him at His word.

The story of that poplar tree, told in different churches in America where I have spoken, brought in many thousands of dollars. I know personally of one lady who stripped herself of all her diamonds and sent them for the work.

Princeton, N. J.

FREDERICK G. COAN.

THE HAN AND HWEI IN THE KANSU-SINKIANG MARCHES

Islam is on trek here. The signs are everywhere apparent. Like Ishmael of old the Hwei of today is a wanderer. In these parts we are familiar with the story of the suicidal trek of Salars and Tungans across the Kokonor country in 1896. They were seeking for the western paradise from which their forefathers had come but they found it not. Samarkand was too far away. Islam on trek from the Dragon fell again into the arms of China. Defeated by Chinese troops at Ye Ma Chan in the summer of that year, their remnant were settled on the oases south of Korla in the Kara-kum of Lob Nor land. Over seventy years ago Islam had built a prosperous settlement in the southern suburb of Shachow, now Tunhwang, city. The barrenness of that particular suburb today tells the tale of a rebellion, a rebellion nipped in the bud, and a resultant expulsion. Some of the sons and daughters of that expulsion still live in Lob Nor land. In both of the above instances Islam was on trek from the Dragon. Today she is back again—on trek from the Bear. The Kansu-Sinkiang Marches, Han from Tung Chih to Chiang Kai Shek, find Hwei here again these four years and the problem of inter-relations now focuses our attention once more.

We may ignore the political significance and slight the religious question but we cannot neglect the social issues. It will be the purpose of this paper to draw attention to some of these. Here are Chinese Tatars (we call them Hwei) with beliefs in sky-gods, horses, sheep, camels, rifles, and all of the simple paraphernalia of a more or less pure paternalistic nomadic culture. Here, too, are Hans with a highly developed *chronique scandaleuse* with regard to

earth gods and sky gods; with asses not horses, goats rather than sheep, oxen instead of camels and the plow or the abacus in place of a rifle. A fairly virginal culture therefore crosses the heterogeneous mixture of maternal-istic-paternalistic conditions characteristic of Chinese civilization. And with the crossing there is agony! It is clash of culture!

Buddhism spread her robe over the native Chinese cultus, covered what the race could not discard, and called the result Mahayana. They might as well call it Taoism in the Marches! Islam too spread her gown but its skirts did not need to reach so far. The simple Theism, we may call it Deism, coincided almost exactly with the delineation of nomadic cultus. Buddhism made the Han passive, negative, and defeatist. Tatarism is active, positive, and victorious, naked or clothed by Islam. We're not bothered by syncretism nor even by synthesis but by a little history. Nor need the history trouble us for long. Han-Hwei with three hundred years of frigid intimacy can be assimilated to a three-thousand year relationship which marks Chinese-Tatar intercourse. Solve the latter and the first is easy. Drop Islam from the picture and the Tatar still looms on the landscape of the centuries!

Marriage is the most insinuating problem of the social connection. Here both cultures run true to form. Tatar marriage is largely exogamous; the males choose widely. It is usually monogamous. Tatar fathers prefer their daughters to marry within the sanctions of religion. A local Han who wed a Tatar widow in her own right first became Moslem. The creed was repeated; ceremonial washing followed; genuflexion of prayers was inculcated, abstinence from pork commanded. Attendance upon prayers, especially Friday prayers, required a fairly simple metamorphosis!

Han marriage may be endogamous or exogamous but we're too far away from clanism to tell exactly. Not so with inherited totemism, for no Han will marry with a party of the same totem. The Tatars, too, let it be said,

reckon dates and count ages from the same totemic branches but this does not affect the marriage relations so far as they are concerned. Inter-marriage is not unknown here. Of Hwei families nearly thirty per cent are the result of mixed marriages, unions contracted during various parts of the trek and in various places in China. They may be subsumed under three heads, viz., free-contract, forced-contract, and no-contract. Here are some typical cases:—

(1) The chief business man in the oasis of Shachow, a Han, three years ago married his daughter to the highest army officer stationed here, a Hwei.

(2) A prominent farmer in the west country married his daughter to a Hwei business man living in Anhsi.

(3) A Chinese farmer east of Tunhwang was forced for payment of debt to marry his daughter to a Tatar creditor.

(4) A Chinese farmer in the same district was obliged to surrender his young wife to a persistent Tatar creditor. It occasioned some trouble but the latter had more political face to press the case.

(5) A young Hwei soldier of the local garrison attempted to abduct a young Han lady but was caught and severely punished by the commandant, a Hwei.

In pre-Islamic days the inter-marriage of the two races gave a definite cast of features to the Han in North China quite different from his fellows. The result of Islam has been to "fix" this type disallowing as it does the inter-marriage of Han males with Tatar girls. On the other hand the Tatar type is slowly changing through inter-marriage of Tatar men with Han women. These adulterations in the stream of Tatar blood are having their effect on the Tatar personality and religion. There is a backwash from all this just now and its effects are observed in the field of religion. The local sect of Moslems call themselves the Koranic Orthodox Gate. It is undoubtedly of Wahabis origin or influence. The Chinese community has given birth to a half-dozen fanatical sects and the rebuilding and refurbishing of temples, idols, and caves goes on apace. The Han is calling again on his Olympus of gods to protect his religious and social pathway. Han and Hwei!—what paths could be more divergent?

There is considerable traffic in slave-girls in Northwest China. It is a kind of yellow slavery—open and unashamed. Han officials and business men buy the pre-adolescent girls and take them with them on their return to Central China. The Hwei often accepts a daughter of some Chinese in default of debt payment. Here are some typical cases:—

(1) A young artisan without means to support his wife and daughter of thirteen sold the girl here recently for eight dollars to a merchant.

(2) A widow with several children during famine time disposed of two daughters, little girls of seven and nine years, for a few dollars.

(3) A beggar woman opium addict gave away a small baby for the consideration of an ounce or two of the drug.

(4) A Chinese farmer badly in debt gave a daughter to a Hwei to meet his obligation.

(5) Several Han widows sold themselves to a merchant, were taken to a nearby town and disposed of as wives in several Han and Hwei households.

Business life in town is a bit irksome to the Tatar. It is only force of circumstances which forces him to do his trading as the Chinese do. The "living-standard", strange as it may sound, is slightly higher among the Hwei. I believe it is because life is freer and less artificial. The pressure of population on the means of subsistence; the eternal wheel of diminishing returns on land investment; the necessity for one to go tenantry on his own farm; for eight of every ten families to depend upon the other two, such a state of affairs forces the Han downward. The latter persists in putting his surplus into land. The Hwei will put his "pile" into horseflesh or camelhumps. Although Han can usually undersell Hwei, the latter has an ally in opium. This is the Chinaman's undoing in the Marches.

A kind of philanthropia marks the Hwei. It surpasses all of the annotations of Chu Hsi and the classics because it is something supra-material. I have seen no Tatar beggars here. Their poor are ministered to by their fellows in a quiet unostentatious manner. It is noumenal rather than phenomenal. It is simple, direct, and spiritual, not quixotic. It stands in juxtaposition to the Chinese art of

giving and living. There is a kind of totalitarianism of self with the Hwei. The Han has self-limited himself beyond the just requirements of this social universe of his. And it breeds indigence! Not so the Hwei.

The large percentage of Hwei children get a smattering of Arabic. There is something sacrosanct about it and this learning is not a means but the end itself. The Han child if fortunate enough to go to school is obliged to use his knowledge of books as a means to the end. Although China is largely an agricultural country, book-training serves to separate the Han child from his environment and perpetuate the distinctions of scholar and farmer, white face or tanned skin. But the ultimate end of his book-learning must be mammon. There is something in the Hwei which suggests that the end of life is freedom, even as God is free above. The centuries have failed to reconcile these two philosophies of life.

Intimate social intercourse is impossible. The highest expression of such friendship to the Han is around the board with its wine and meat. This is the Chinese demand of intimacy. For the post-Islam Tatar meat and drink marks the bounds rather than the extent of all friendship and intimacy. Here is an insurmountable difficulty. Religious sanctions must be held accountable for this. Yet, all else being equal, I am more and more of the opinion that the Hwei in the Marches, indeed in all of Northwest China, is a child of his environment to the extent that he has lost much of the friendliness and artlessness which represented his primitive civilization. When the books are opened and the accounts are settled the Han will have to hold himself accountable for much of this.

So Islam is on trek, the trek of the ages. After four short years here some would choose to trek again. Who shall restrain? That wanderlust which has characterized Mongol, Hun, and Tatar through the centuries is still an abiding possession of the spirit. The stolid, pessimistic, poverty-stricken Chinese farmer, clinging to his bit of land, is the son of a stolid, pessimistic, poverty-stricken father

before him. By all rules of anthropology and sociology we should see the Hwei assume the rôle of farmer and leave the nomad behind. But rules are rules and history is history. When the record of our times is written who shall dare say that civilization, whether it be Han or Western, is the last word? Need we not to reflect on the quiet persistence of a people who, by simple clinging faith to the God of heaven, have frustrated the rust of centuries and the mould of a complex materialistic culture? No one shall lord it over God's primitive heritage in the Kansu-Sinkiang Marches, so Islam goes on trek again. Here is salvation! Here is wisdom!

Tunhwang, Kansu

HAROLD D. HAYWARD.

THE VIEWS OF A CHINESE MOSLEM

The Association for Mutual Knowledge of Moslems, founded at Cairo in 1934, has promoted a series of lectures about Moslems in various parts of the world. Mohammed Ma Chien eş-Şinî, a Chinese member of the executive council of this Association, gave two lectures in Cairo in July, 1934, about the Chinese Moslems, now published in a small volume, "A Comprehensive View of the History of Islam in China and the Conditions of the Chinese Moslems." This book, illustrated with photographs, is the first of a series of monographs on Moslems of various countries.

The treatment of Ma Chien is divided into ten chapters: I. When and how Islam reached China; II. Comparisons between Islam and Chinese religions; III. Opinions of great Chinese men about Islam; IV. Religious conditions of Chinese Moslems; V. Cultural conditions; VI. Political conditions; VII. Economic conditions; VIII. Social conditions; IX. Reasons for the backward condition of the Chinese Moslems and the remedy; X. Chinese study of Missions compared with the el-Azhar in Cairo.

The first chapter treats briefly a subject about which there exist many and ample works by European Orientalists. This and the two following hold less interest for us than chapters IV-X, which, though they do not contain much new material, are worthy of notice because the news is fresh and because the author is one of the few Chinese Moslems who have hitherto treated Islam in China.

(Numerous articles on the Chinese Moslems are found in the *Revue du Monde Musulman*, THE MOSLEM WORLD, and the *Revue des Études Islamiques*, to which we refer you for a rich bibliography on the subject.)

IV. RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS OF THE CHINESE MOSLEMS

The Chinese Moslems, because of their great distance, have remained completely detached from the Islamic world. But with the help of God, their religious beliefs have been preserved in the original form; they have not submitted to the influence of the popular superstitions or the religious sects of China. They believe in the miracles of the Saints of God, but through faulty instructions are incapable of seeking to be near God by means of the saints. They bury their saints in Moslem cemeteries in the mountains; their tombs have no monuments. The tombs of the Moslems are visited only on Fridays and the first day of the feast of Ramadan. The faithful read in the cemetery passages from the Koran, hoping for intercession of the Koran for the dead, and founding on the saints' lives and works their hope in paradise.

In the province of Kan-su there exists a small Sufic confraternity called *al-Qubbawīyyah*; there was a second called *al-Giahriyyah*, followers of the rebel Ma Hua-lŭng. Ignorant members of this sect believed that a visit to their sheikh was more important than the pilgrimages to Mecca, and that the sheikh sold tickets to paradise. For this reason some "*ulamā*" declared themselves unbelievers. Dissenters from this sect and other Moslems were so exasperated that they almost came to arms, and severed all connections with them. In 1918 Ma Yuen-chang, the successor of Ma Hua-lung, died, leaving no successor, and the sect disbanded.

The Chinese Moslems hold in due esteem the *Sharḥ al-'aqā'id* of en-Nāsafī; all which is contrary to this book is repulsed by them, or at least held in suspicion. They all belong to the *ḥanafite* school; they repeat the five canonical prayers in the mosque, and recite them together, whereas prayer in the home is not permitted at all. They are seen at dawn going to the mosque for prayers with lanterns, even in bad weather. They recite in Arabic the prayers from the Koran which are easiest for them, even if they do not understand the sense. The *adhān* and the Friday

sermon are likewise in Arabic, and mean nothing to the faithful; to compensate for such a loss the *imām*, before or after Friday prayers, preaches in Chinese.

While well-to-do Moslems abandon themselves to pleasures, these poor ones struggle for a living. The middle class Moslems, the most numerous, are those who "strictly observe intercessory prayer, and pray to God, filled with devotion". The Moslems of Yun-nan province pray at home. In the northern provinces there are mosques built by good men, who pray there and learn the rules of the *Shar'ia*.

In the month of *Ramaḍān* they all fast, men, women, and children, because the fast comes only once a year, and they find it less burdensome than ritual prayer. They believe that penitence and worship are more approved during *Ramaḍān* than in the other months. Therefore all Moslems fast; even the rebels who do not pray at all during the year, except perhaps on Friday, fast and repeat the five prayers during *Ramaḍān*, hoping for pardon and compassion from God, and at the end of *Ramaḍān* leave the mosque until the next year.

In the province of Yun-nan, during *Ramaḍān*, those who come to pray gather a little before sunset at the door of the mosque to break their fast; they invite one another to supper at their homes after evening prayers. In some provinces those who fast then eat together a meal prepared at the mosque, and return to their houses after prayers. The meal is paid for by gifts of well-to-do friends, supplemented by those who attend; travellers eat gratis.

The *zakāt* is the principal source of money which supports students of the higher religious institutes, travellers, and the aged. There are also receipts from the sale of the skins of sacrificial animals, and voluntary contributions deposited in boxes in the mosques. In the province of Yun-nan the Moslem peasants always give voluntarily to the treasurer of the religious institute a tenth of their harvest for the maintenance of students who come from villages and from the country.

The pilgrimage is a rare practice among Chinese Moslems because of the distance, the inconvenience of travel, and the expense; in spite of these obstacles there are some who save the necessary sum. Travellers believe the pilgrims poor because of their extremely shabby clothes; however, they give to charity in Hedjaz and buy religious books there for the libraries of their own institutes.

There was in our village of Sha-tien a good man who made the pilgrimage to Mecca on foot. The journey lasted three years, and this man knew neither Arabic nor any other foreign language. Very few Chinese pilgrims know Arabic, except the shorter Sūrahs of the Koran and prayers committed to memory. In a company of pilgrims there are sometimes one or two persons capable of conversing with the people of Hedjaz, but not without some difficulty. Thus guides of the Mecca pilgrims and sellers of food charged excessive prices, without their being able to ask help of any one. Thanks to God we have no more heard of such complaints since the Holy Land of Hedjaz has been under the protection of Ibn Sa'ūd.

Pilgrims from China are few, numbering about a hundred each year. The majority come from the province of Kan-su. They travel on camels, crossing the Great Wall, to Pao-tow-cheh. Here they take the train for Peiping and proceed to Shanghai by boat or train. In Shanghai they stop at the mosque of al-Bawwābah al-Gharbiyyah, and, before they embark, the Moslems of Shanghai hold feasts in their honor. When the pilgrims return they bring water from the well of Zamzam so that the Chinese may be blessed by the use of the holy water. They think that there are no microbes in it.

Formerly the British steamers did not sail direct from Shanghai to Jeddah, and the pilgrims were obliged to stop at Singapore, in the mosque of es-Sayyid es-Saqqāf, until they could find pilgrim ships. Thus they had to bear many inconveniences and heavy expenses. In 1932, at the request of ḥāgg 'Alā' ed-Dīn Ghin Tyuyun, administrator of the mosque al-Bawwābah al-Gharbiyyah, the British steamship

lines agreed to run a special ship direct from Shanghai to Jeddah each year. May God reward him abundantly.

(The Moslems from Turkestan pass through Central Asia. My father saw a company of more than a hundred of these pilgrims at Mecca in 1924.)

V. CULTURAL SITUATION OF THE CHINESE MOSLEMS

Islamic culture in China is in a backward condition, which vexes the believers and delights the infidels. If you ask a Chinese Moslem about the life of Mohammed, his character, the fundamental truths of Islam and the judicial laws derived from it, you will not have a satisfactory answer.

The reasons for such a backward state are the following: 1. inherent difficulty with the Arabic language; 2. inadequate methods of instruction; 3. lack of translation of books on Islam; 4. scarcity of reference books; 5. the distance of Chinese Moslems; 6. the indifference of other Moslems.

Arabic, the language of the Koran and the Sunnah, is venerated by the Chinese Moslems, who hold it in higher esteem than their national language. However, the Chinese find it extremely difficult, more so than the European languages, and Chinese students do not attempt to read Arabic books until they have studied ten years. Many become discouraged, and those who succeed are very few.

The weak systems of religious instruction increase the difficulty of the language and the rapid discouragement of the students. Moslem boys attend the primary school of the mosque, and remain there a few years. They learn to spell, and memorize the profession of faith and the "good word". Then they commit to memory large portions of the Koran and the Book of Prayer.

When the young Moslems have finished these studies, some take up agriculture, some commerce. Others go to the secondary school, where they study word-derivation, morphology, syntax of terminations, and related matters.

The pupils do not know the first elements, but receive oral translation in Chinese from the master. He, however, is not in a position to translate the technical Arabic terminations into the Chinese equivalents, because he lacks the necessary Chinese culture, and therefore the students understand little. The duration of these studies has no limit, and many students abandon it, despairing of success.

Those who finish the secondary studies go to the superior school, where they study what they call in China "the five great Books". The duration of this course is long, and few finish it in ten years, though in recent years the course has been made shorter for some. When the student has satisfactorily finished his studies the professors confer upon him a distinction. This is acquired by a person who has paid his expenses during his studies, and is presented in the mosque, in public, on the occasion of the *'Īd al-fiṭr* or the *'Id al-adḥa*; he receives the title of *ahong*, which signifies sheikh, and is derived from the Persian *ākhōnd*.

The defects of this course of study are numerous: excessive length of the courses, insufficiency of the religious ideas taught, weak knowledge of Arabic. The students do not have the ability to understand the books of the higher courses, nor can they make themselves understood by Arabs, speaking or writing, except in rare cases. On the other hand, the students are weak in the national language, and are not able to make a living, except those who find teaching or preaching positions in the Moslem institutes. These consider themselves as the higher classes, who do not take to menial trades.

When the Moslem leaders of Yün-nan understood these conditions they founded in the principal mosque of Yün-nan-fu, the capital of the province, the School of Moral Science in which Arabic, Chinese, and English are taught, as well as religious and modern subjects. Three other schools were founded on the same plan, in Peking, Shanghai, and Sze-chwan. The pupils are making very rapid progress in Chinese, English, and modern science, but in Arabic and religion they are still behind the pupils of the

old Moslem schools, because time is limited and subjects of study are numerous, while the teaching methods of Arabic and religious science are sterile as in the past. The directors of this school are endeavoring to raise the standard, but have not yet succeeded.

The religious culture of the "*ulama*" is limited, and they do not know enough of the fundamental principles of religion, the judicial laws derived from it, apologetics, and religious literature, to guide the faithful. They therefore base their sermons on impossible Jewish apocryphal tales. Those who have received laic instruction, when they wish to study religious questions or Islamic history, can not find adequate books, because there are no translations of the commentaries of the Koran, the traditions, and the historical and judicial works.

Some of our old masters wrote estimable works in Chinese which gave light to Islam in the last three centuries, and from which the Chinese learned that Islam is a religion of wisdom and of culture. Unfortunately at that time tyranny was at its height; Confucianism was the official state religion, and circumstances did not permit them to lift the veil from our pure religion. Added to this is the scarcity of reference books at the time.

For such reasons the works of these authors are not immune to misinterpretation and stupid fables. For example, Liu Chih-lien in his biography of Mohammed says that Khadījah, when she married the Prophet, was a virgin. In her youth she had read in the Pentateuch and in the Gospel the prophecy of his coming, and refused offers of marriage to wait for him. In the same book it is related that the Prophet on the night of the *Mi'rāj* rose on his horse al-Burāq from a rock at Jerusalem. When al-Burāq rose into the air, he turned and saw that the rock had risen with him. He made a sign to stop, and it has remained suspended in the air until this day. People passing under that rock are always afraid that it will fall!

The Arabic books in China were manuscripts, and the students copied the passages which they needed. Books

were costly. When Ma Fu-ko used the xylograph to print Arabic books, these were the first printed Arabic books in China. Arabic books have been imported into China only in the last thirty years. The majority come from Constantinople and Bombay, though in recent years some have been brought from Egypt. There are no Arabic libraries in China, and Arabic books are expensive.

The Moslems did not concern themselves with secular education until after the advent of the Republic. Then they understood that they needed Chinese culture and began to found elementary schools in mosques in various parts of China. These schools are organized like the government ones. Finally secondary schools were also opened, one at Peking and one at Hu-nan, both with the approval of the Ministry of Instruction. The major defect of these schools is that there is no religious instruction, and the rites and ceremonies of Islam are not practiced there. This is excusable because they have found no one capable of performing this duty among the "*ulama*", who alone know the laws regarding the practice of worship.

Civil education in Moslem communities, owing to scarceness of means and educators, is still in the first stages. A comparison between the Moslem schools and the Christian ones fills us with shame and regret: today the missionaries have all over China thousands of elementary schools, hundreds of secondary schools, and a dozen higher institutions. The Chinese government has been obliged to make a special law against imposing religious instruction in the schools.

The Chinese Moslems of the coast are descendants of Arabs and Persians, and those of north China of ancestors in Oriental Turkestan and Persia. Emigrating and settling in China, they remained in contact with the countries of their origin by means of Arab merchants, who came to the Chinese ports. But in the last five centuries, Arab commerce with the Far East having ceased, the Chinese Moslems remained separated from their brothers of other lands, as if they were not of this world. Moslem Chinese

pilgrims could not speak Arabic and did not know the religious, cultural, and political movements of the Moslem states.

During the World War the Chinese Moslems, when they learned that the Moslems had conquered the Christians, suddenly professed joy; but when they heard the contrary they remained incredulous, thinking that the news was gossip started by Christians. They did not know of Sa'ad Zaghlūl, 'Abd el-Kerīm, Muṣṭafà Kemāl, Ibn Sa'ūd, Mohammed 'Alī, Riṣā Khān, and other well known leaders. When Ghāzī Muṣṭafà Kemāl conquered his enemies, the Moslems glorified him, and some preachers pronounced the *khuṭbah* in his name in Yün-nan; but when he abolished the Caliphate and laicized the Turkish state they no longer pronounced invocations for him or against him. And today the invocation is only for the Moslem community in the Orient and the Occident.

I am certain that if the Moslem world had taken some thought of the Moslems in China, this harmful separation would not exist, nor would Islamic culture in China have descended to such a low level. We have not heard of any of the "*ulama*" or the learned men touring in China as they tour Europe or America, in parties, returning year after year.

Sheikh 'Abd er-Raḥmān Wang Hao-lan visited Istanbul and was received by 'Abd ul-Ḥamīd II, who honored his stay, and in 1907 sent him on a mission with two sheikhs, 'Alī Riḍā and Ḥusein Ḥāfiẓ. They taught in the Ning-chieh mosque at Peking, but did not stay long, for what reason I do not know, so that the Chinese Moslems did not profit greatly by it. This was the first recent contact after the long separation, and after the return of the two sheikhs to Turkey the relation was broken again.

Later King Fu'ād gave thought to Islamic culture in China and at the request of sheikh 'Abd er-Raḥīm Ma Sung-ting, ordered the sheikhs of el-Azhar to send two sheikhs on a mission. They teach today in the Moslem Normal School at Peiping. Students come there from all

parts of China, and that mission will bear remarkable fruit in the near future, God willing.

A treaty of friendship and commerce has been drawn between the Chinese and the Persian governments, and a Persian consul has been invited to China. A treaty of friendship between Turkey and China is soon to be ratified. Complete union between the Chinese Moslems and their brothers in foreign countries is not far away.

VI. THE POLITICAL SITUATION OF THE CHINESE MOSLEMS

(Here the author makes comments, which for the sake of brevity we omit, on the condition of Moslems in China from the tenth to the nineteenth centuries. He speaks of the liberty which they enjoyed and the great men they gave to the Empire. The Moslem revolts in the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, he observed, were due not to fanaticism but to the political oppression of the Manchu dynasty.)

When the Republic was founded, it was proclaimed in the Constitution that the Chinese nation is formed of five peoples, to which correspond the five colors of the flag. The Republic instituted religious freedom and equality of the five peoples. The Moslems until then had had little opportunity to see to their religious and secular interests. Within seven years the government of Nanking abolished that flag, substituting a new one with only three colors: a white sun in a blue field, placed in the upper left hand corner of a red flag. The governor proclaimed that he would try to help the non-Chinese peoples toward independence, if any of them wished to withdraw from the nation and become autonomous. According to the government of Nanking, the Moslems of China proper are real Han (Chinese); between them and the remaining Han there is no difference save that of religion. Facing this question the Moslems have divided into two parts, one accepting such an interpretation, and the other denying it. The latter are in the majority.

The government of Nanking declared that it wished the light of Islam to shine spontaneously in China, and the Moslem people to intermarry with the Han. But it was not Allah's will. The religious sentiment of the Moslems is higher than their national sentiment; when patriotism is not opposed to religion, they are devoted to their country, but when the two sentiments clash, they are attached to their religion. The Chinese government treats its Moslems well, but desires to extinguish our religion in China. This desire of the government will not harm us, but will awaken us from deep sleep and spur us to progress and to hope for the perpetuation of our noble religion with that of our beloved country.

It is beyond doubt that our government treats us much better than any imperialistic government treats its colonies. We hope that our Government will follow the testament of the father of the Chinese republic, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who advised his followers to cooperate with the Chinese Moslems and with their brothers abroad.

VIRGINIA VACCA in *Oriente Moderno*, July, 1935.

Translated by Philip Blackwood.

MOHAMMED, SEAL OF THE PROPHETS?

[The following letter and the reply to the question raised by an Ahmadiyya missionary will be of interest to our readers. We welcome discussions that throw light on the real character of Islam.—Ed.]

Dear Sir:

Peace be to you and God's mercy and blessings!

I am a reader of your magazine, *THE MOSLEM WORLD*, and I have to congratulate you on the most laudable effort—we Ahmadis at least appreciate it, because the survey you make of the Islamic world is of immense assistance to us: the news of the lost sheep who are to be sought and saved.

We Ahmadis believe that the second coming of Jesus has been fulfilled in the person of the Founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement. The unanimous Muslim opinion holds that the Messiah in his second coming will also be a Prophet of God, and to say that he will be deprived of prophethood is according to doctors of Muslim religion a blasphemy, and belief of *Khataman Nabiyyeen* appears to be seeming contradiction.

To reconcile both beliefs we interpret the word "*Khatam*" as seal or "choice" or the best. Doctor Hurgronje, the Dutch savant, some years ago wrote in reply to a Dutch Muslim lady's query that there were "two schools of thought" on the interpretation of the word "*Khatam*". Ahmadis do not belong to the popular school interpreting "*Khatam*" as the "closer". We prefer the interpretations of *Ibni Arabi*,¹ *mother Aisha*, *Shaarani* and others who hold that a prophet may come after the Holy Prophet (Peace and blessings of Allah be on him) without any new law. Now you are requested to give your opinion on:—

1. Whether there have been two schools of thought regarding the interpretation of the word "*Khatam*" (as given in the popular edition of the Quran).

¹ *Fatuhat Makyya*, Vol. 2, page 55; *Alyawaqit Waljowahar*, Vol. 2, page 22; *Tamala Majmaul Bihar*, page 85.

2. Is there any instance in the Arabic literature, Islamic or pre-Islamic, where the word "*Khatam*" or "*Akhir*" followed in the possessive case by a plural noun may mean other than the "best" or the "choice"?

Hoping to be excused for that trouble, and thanking you in anticipation,

Yours in the blessed Son of Mary,
ALHAJ MAULVI ABDUR RAHIM NAYYAR.
Qadian, Punjab

Here follows our reply:

There is a long article in the Encyclopaedia of Islam (II. pp. 921 ff.) on *khātam* and *khātim* dealing with these words in the sense of "seal" and "signet ring." It records the opinion of Nöldeke and Fraenkel that the form *khātam* is an Aramaic loan-word. It may be added that loan-words in Arabic usually have a variety of spellings and the Saiyid al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, in his *Tāj al-ʿArūs* (viii, p. 266), lists eleven forms of that root in the singular with the meaning of "seal."

The Encyclopaedia article also notes that "no seals of the pre-Muhammadan Arabs are known," nevertheless "we must suppose that seals were in common use" in Mecca in the time of Muhammad.

The *Lisān al-ʿArab* defines the phrases *khitām al-qawm*, *khātimuhum* and *khātamuhum* all as meaning "the last of them" on the authority of al-Liḥyānī, a lexicographer of the second and third centuries of the Hijrah.

Neither the *Tāj* nor the *Lisān* gives any instance of any form of the root in the sense of "best" or "choice." Further investigation in al-Zamakhsharī's *Asās al-Balāghah* and Lyall's edition of *al-Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, both of which mention the word, confirm the conclusion drawn from these two authoritative dictionaries.

It is worthy of note that al-Farazdaq (ed. Bevan, *The Naḳā'id of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq*, Leiden, 1905-7, vol. I.

p. 349, l. 5) calls Muhammad *khair al-khawātīm*, "the best of the seals," showing that when he wished to combine the idea of "seal" and "best" he used both words in a single phrase.

Thus the evidence of the Arabic literature and of the lexicons examined does not support the meaning of "best" or "choice" for *khātām*.

The importance of this word in Islam is its connection with a title of Muhammad in the Qur'ān at xxxiii:40. The version of the Qur'ān usually printed reads *khātām al-nabīyīn*, "the seal of the prophets." This, according to al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* (xxii, p. 11), is the reading of al-Ḥasan and 'Āṣim, while the majority of the Reciters report *khātīm al-nabīyīn*, "the last of the prophets." These two readings are the only versions recorded in both Ibn al-Qāṣih's *Sharḥ 'alā 'l-Shāṭibīyah* and al-Safāqūsī's *Ghaith al-Naf' fī al-Qirā'āt al-Sab'* (ed. Cairo, 1304). A third version of the phrase, however, is given in al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr* and al-Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf*, which assign the reading to 'Abdallah and Ibn Mas'ūd respectively. This reads *nabīyan khatama 'l-nabīyīn*, "a prophet who sealed the prophets."

The commentators generally interpret the title "the seal of the prophets" to mean "the last" of them, and no commentary that I have seen says *khatam* means "the best" or "choice."

Muslim tradition also states that Muhammad said, "There will be no prophet after me," and that he called himself "the Last." For the references see Wensinck, "Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition," Leiden, 1927, p. 163. It may be noted that the last word of Mālik's *Muwatta'*, the second oldest surviving Muslim law-book, is *al-'Āqib*, "the Last", one of Muhammad's five exclusive epithets.

With this evidence from the Qur'ān and Tradition, it is not surprising that the Muslim Articles of Faith teach quite explicitly that Muhammad is the last of the prophets. See for instance the *Majmū'at al-Ḥawāshi 'alā Sharḥ al-*

'*Aqā'id al-Nasafīyah* (ed. Cairo, 1329) Pt. I, p. 179; Pt. III, p. 133; al-Baghdadī's *Farq bain al-Firaq* (Cairo, 1328) p. 332, and the Saiyid al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī's *Ithāf al-Sādah* vol. II, p. 202. (I owe this reference to Dr. E. E. Elder's Thesis, "A Translation of the Commentary of al-Taftazani on the Articles of Belief by al-Nasafī").

But Muslim tradition also teaches definitely, in spite of a variety of detail, that the Prophet 'Īsā will descend in the last of time. Therefore commentators on both the Qur'ān and the Muslim dogmas find it necessary to reconcile the title of Muhammad as the seal and the last of the prophets with the traditions about the descent of 'Īsā. A full discussion of this apparent contradiction is given in the *Kitāb Ta'wil Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth*, by Ibn Qutaibah al-Dīnawarī (Cairo, 1327, pp. 235f.). The tradition is quoted that Muhammad said, "There will be no prophet after me," and also the one that "al-Masīḥ will descend and kill the swine and break the cross," and further that 'Ā'ishah was wont to say, "Call the Apostle of Allah 'khātam al-anbiyā', and do not say, 'There is no prophet after him.' " Ibn Qutaibah's answer is that Muhammad "meant, 'There will be no prophet after me who will abrogate what I have brought,'" and that 'Ā'ishah "meant, 'Do not say: al-Masīḥ will not descend after him' ".

This agrees with the solution presented by the commentators on both the Qur'ān and the Muslim doctrines, as well as by Ibn 'Arabī and al-Sha'rānī, to the effect that the Prophet 'Īsā will descend and exercise jurisdiction in accordance with the law of Muhammad.

There are earnest people who are undoubtedly helped by the study of the titles and claims of the founders of religions, and who rightly want the earliest sources and the best materials for their studies. Such students will desire also to examine for themselves the spiritual qualities of the doctrines taught by these religious leaders, knowing that God sanctions only the choicest and the best.

Hartford, Conn.

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY.

CURRENT TOPICS

Why I am a Christian ¹

I was born a Mohammedan, and my forebears before me were all brought up in the Moslem faith, in which every custom and tradition is derived from the holy man Moses. My grandfather and father were both zealous and sincere people, (alas that they died early), and after this my grandmother and mother still zealously observed the customs of the Moslem religion. Among my relatives was one who was a local Moslem leader. He came frequently to our home, and read the sacred books, and related to me the stories of bygone days.

In 1886 an English missionary came to Paoning to obtain premises for work here. He rented part of our house. At that time the local people were very much opposed to this, and there was much talk against it and also active opposition and persecution. At the time I was still a very young child, and in matters of faith and religion had no understanding, beyond a good memory for the stories of our sacred books. But when I saw the Christian books of the Old and New Testaments (being able to read), and heard the Westerners explain them, I half doubted and half believed. Seeing these foreigners did not observe the customs of Moses, and ate unclean things, as pork, etc., my grandmother strongly warned me, and my relatives also warned me, against being deceived by the foreigners. But my curiosity constantly impelled me to mingle with them.

In 1888 they rented one part of our place and opened a school, engaging a middle school teacher. I then left the school where I was and entered this Christian school to study. In the year 1891, having during the previous five years received a good deal of instruction, and because also I saw that the lives of the Westerners were in agreement with their teaching, I was greatly influenced to believe.

Among the Westerners, the one whose influence was greatest in bringing me to Christ was a lady missionary, Miss F. M. Williams. Her love was great and her teaching good, and it made a very deep impression on me. I can never forget it. Another who helped me greatly, was the Rev. Walter Taylor, whom I helped in his study of Chinese. Once I fell very ill of a fever, and almost died, but the Lord heard the persevering prayer of my grandmother, and brought me almost out of death back to life again. This friend, Mr. Taylor, daily ministered to my needs, and truly the love of Christ was manifested in him in a way that I can never forget.

But it is difficult to record all that one went through, in detail.

¹ Reprinted from *China's Millions*. More details of Bishop Ku's life may be found in the "Life of Bishop Cassels."

Suffice to say, that it was in 1891, on Sunday, January 16th, that I finally entered the Church. My friends and relatives did not openly oppose me, though some did secretly, slandering and criticising me, but as my life and conduct gave no occasion for reproach, there was nothing they could do. Moreover there was then religious liberty.

In 1899 I became an evangelist. That was near the time of the Boxer persecutions in Szechwan. Had my fellow Moslems wished to persecute me, this was their great opportunity. They not only did not persecute me, but on the other hand were afraid lest I should be persecuted, and that for idolatry, regarding me as of that class. In a short while the persecution passed away, and I devoted myself entirely to the preaching of the Gospel, and have done so now for thirty-five years.

Now allow me to say a few words about the reasons for my being a Christian, that my fellow Moslems across the sea may be able to understand.

1. I believe that the great difference between Christ and other religions lies in this, that Christ sacrificed Himself in order to redeem men from sin. Other religions have similar offerings, but man's sin can never obtain forgiveness because of the good words of holy men. This is the first reason why I ought to believe in Christ.

2. I believe that Christ has not only borne vicariously our past sins, thus redeeming us, but that He still unceasingly bestows on us His grace, and thus savingly helps us, enabling me to trust in Him concerning past sin, also to trust in Him for the present, overcoming the evil one, and also to trust in Him for deliverance from the judgment to come. He assumes responsibility for me for all, bringing peace to my conscience. Then if I die, I can without fear go to my heavenly Home, and to my heavenly Father.

3. I believe the Cross of Christ is the means of subduing fleshly lusts. In one's own strength it is quite impossible to control and subdue all the human passions. But if we remember His cross, yielding ourselves to be crucified together with Him, this is the way of victory. (Gal. v:24).

4. The essential thing about the Cross is that it is the glorious manifestation of a heart of love. If men obtain the power of this love, they may build up their homes into peaceful and happy homes. In society there will be the uniting spirit of brotherly love, in the nation there will be harmony between the classes, between high and low, and among the nations of the world, war and strife would cease. If men were willing to receive this power that comes from the Cross of Christ, imitate the sacrifice of Jesus, and really love as Jesus loved, then it would not be difficult to turn the whole world into the Kingdom of heaven. So I hope that one day the Kingdom of heaven will appear, and the whole earth become one family. Oh, why should we be divided?

This is very briefly an account of my becoming a Christian. But I venture to add a word to exhort my fellow Moslems to acknowledge Jesus as Christ and Lord, also to search the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, that the prejudiced heart opposed to

Christianity may be opened, and quietly and earnestly search into the truth.

Regarding Moslem customs and traditions, my own attitude is one of liberty, and not to be bound by any. Formerly I did not eat anything that was unclean, and even now I do not eat these things. This is my liberty. There are others who consider they may be eaten, that is their liberty. I exhort you to be of like mind. (See Rom. xiv: 1-17.) "Ye shall know the Truth and the Truth shall make you free" (John viii:32). One whose conscience has been liberated by the Truth, in everything within the realm of Truth has become a free man.

I beseech you all quickly to believe in Messiah that is Jesus. In a little while He will come again to judge the world. That you may not miss the opportunity of salvation is my earnest hope.

BISHOP KU HO-LIN.

A Fatwa against the Ahmadies

The following explains itself. It was published at Bombay: "To His Holiness Moulana Mufti Mohammad Kifayatullah Saheb, President Jamiyyatul Ulama-i-Hind, Delhi As Salamo Alaikum Wa Rahmatullah.

I request your Honour to give your Fatwa (opinion) on the basis of the Holy Quran about the Qadianies (Both the Lahore Party) and the Qadian Party who believe in the late Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, District Gurdaspur, Punjab, India as the prophet of God, the Promised Massiah, the Mehdi and Reformer. They believe also the death of the Prophet Jesus Christ and that his father was Joseph, the carpenter (God forbid). Is it permissible for the Muslims at large to mix and mingle with these Ahmadies? Can a Muslim marry an Ahmady (Mirzaie) woman or give in marriage his daughter to a Mirzaie? What has your Eminence to say for a few rich Muslims who help these Mirzaies monetarily? How far their action is right? Kindly reply at length.

Yours in-Islam,

(Dr.) Mohammad Ali Al-Haj Salmin
Arab Muslim Missionary, Bombay."

Answer

"The followers of the self-styled Prophet of Qadian (both the sections Lahore Ahmadies and Qadianies) are outside the pale of Islam. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian had claimed the Prophet-hood, ridiculed Hazrat Masih (Jesus Christ) and did differ from the Muslims in several fundamentals. On this basis he is considered by *all the Ulamas of the Muslim-World* as outside the pale of Islam. As both the sections believe Mirza Saheb to be Reformer, Divine, Massiah, Mehdi and the Imam of the Age, therefore they, like their founder, are Kafirs. The Lahore Section also believe in Mirza Khulam Ahmad as worthy to be followed are themselves Kafirs too.

sd/ (MUFTI) MOHAMMAD KIFAYATULLAH
(President Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind Delhi)."

King Ibn Saoud at Prayer in Mecca

Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah writes in *Near East and India*: "The most remarkable spectacle which met my eyes there was, when thirty thousand Wahabis of the desert, mounted on their camels in the full blaze of the heat, were at prayer with us near Mecca. Their hero king, Ibn Saoud, dressed in the humblest garb of the pilgrims, stood in front, leading the prayers. It was three in the afternoon, according to the Western method of time calculation, when the immensity of the rays of the sun was at its greatest. The heat waves passed in and out of the ranks of the Wahhabi soldiers, their faces stern and immovable, as if steel-graven, lifted to the wall of the mighty rocks enshrining the memories of early Islam, as they heard the deep intonation of their leader's prayer.

"He was reading aloud: 'Meekly do we approach Thee, O The Mightiest of the mighty. Lead us to the path trodden by the faithful and the accepted ones.' He prayed long and loud, and then stopped, as if choked and overcome with religious emotion. The terrific rays of naked desert sun poured down upon him, and over it all sat a great silence. But, he was reading again, 'Give us strength, O Allah,' he began, 'to march in Thy way, so that we may be of some service to Islam.' Thirty thousand voices of the Wahhabis mingled in one mighty 'Amen,' and rumbled and echoed through the hills beyond into the parched sands of the desert.

"Then they sank into a mute prayer again for three hours at a stretch, till the Call of the evening prayer dispersed them, and King Ibn Saoud, that wondrous man of Arabia, that enigma of the desert, took his place in the humblest ranks of the faithful."

The Nizam of Hyderabad Proclaims Christmas

The following translation of an impressive Persian quatrain and a note thereon, composed by His Exalted Highness the Nizam, has been issued by the Hyderabad Government Information Bureau:

Lines on the Nativity of Christ (on Whom be Peace)

"And we raised him to a high Station"

(Quran, Ch. xlx, v. 57.)

When for Pharaoh God created Moses, He bestowed on him a miracle, and lo! The White Hand shone forth.

The Child, immaculately conceived, bore testimony to Mary's purity.

The like of Jesus, O Osman, was not born in the world.

(Note:) Glory be to God! what more can be said in praise of this splendid theme than that it is borne testimony to by the Word of God. Let these Muslims then, who have faith in the holy personality of Christ, welcome the day of His Birth with rejoicing; for this sublime and mighty Being was ranked among the Prophets, in which there is no doubt, while we, on the other hand are, all of us "People of the Book". It is in view of the significance of this fact that this day December 25 has been proclaimed a public holiday in my Dominions.

Westernization in Iran

Steadily Iran is pursuing the ways of Westernization as already initiated by Turkey. A few weeks ago she adopted what is known as the "international hat," a consummation reached by various stages of change in national and tribal headgear, including, notably, the Pahlavi hat. Long ago she abolished the high-flown titles of pre-War Persia, and now, by command of the Shah, all redundant forms of address are to disappear. "*Agha*," which is the equivalent of our "Mr.," is to be the accepted mode in correspondence and conversation. Such simplification is all to the good: it is, in effect, a timely "cutting of the cackle." It used to be said of olden Persia that in it you could always find three things: princes, camels, and fleas. The first have vanished utterly; the second, though still and rightly employed in certain parts, are far fewer than they were before the advent of the motor-car, the aeroplane, and the railway-train; and with the progressive introduction of hygienic ideas the third must be diminished by some millions. On all fronts, indeed, the Shah and his Ministers are waging a successful battle against the dead wood and redundancy of the past. You can no more transform Iran in a night than you can build Rome in a day, but in less than two decades the Shah (may his days be prolonged!) has very creditably revolutionized the face of his land.

—*Near East and India.*

A Visit to Moslems in Ningsia, China

Mr. and Mrs. Martin Taylor give an interesting account of their visit to the Moslems of this district, in *China's Millions*:

I have told you before of our hope to enter the Moslem District of Chinchi Hsien. For close on a month we have been visiting towns and villages scattered throughout this large district, which so far has had only very rare visits from itinerant missionaries. The explanation of the neglect of so large an area probably lies in the fact of the difficulty of its evangelisation.

All through the plain that lies immediately east of the Yellow River there are countless well-built *chai-tsi* (the fortress-like enclosures of the homes of the people) standing amongst well-cultivated fields. Prosperity is evident everywhere; the animals used for ploughing, etc., were good mules generally, instead of the small donkeys and broken-down cows used in other parts of this province. The Moslems are a diligent and healthy people. Every group of homes has its mosque, and at times, from one point, we could count six mosques within a radius of half a mile. I was particularly interested in a new foreign-style mosque, nearing completion, which has been erected at a cost so far of \$23,000. What an object lesson these people are to the Chinese Church! They build their mosques, support their *ahungs* (priests), run their schools, etc., and one never hears any more than an expression of satisfaction and pride from them that they are able to do so.

Preaching to the crowds that gathered in the market places has ever so much interest added to it in the fact that the listeners have a background on which to work. The Pentateuch, Psalms, and

Gospels are recognised as from God and of authority (though they are absolutely ignorant of their teachings) and therefore much of what we say *must* be accepted. The selling of literature would please any salesman's heart. Those who go off with their purchases seem as happy as children at a Sunday School prize-giving. We met with opposition occasionally, sometimes heated, too; there is something satisfying in that.

A big problem so far has been the fact of illiteracy. Most of the men can read Arabic (without understanding the content), but very rarely do we come across anyone who knows Chinese. We were pleased to see at several places Moslem Primary Schools working on the same lines as Chinese. This means the opening of a "door of utterance."

From the time of arrival at the inn in most places we were surrounded by a group of lads, a Moses, a Joseph, a David, etc. The name of Jesus is very popular, too. Apart from the time actually spent in sleeping we had these lads with us till we took our departure.

As we were out partly for our own education, we visited the mosques to chat with the *ahungs* and learn what we could. While watching "prayers" in one mosque, we were surprised to see a late-comer walk straight up to the mosque door-way, remove his shoes, lay down his towel and go in to pray without performing the ablutions. But Christians sometimes come to prayer unprepared, don't they?

Days of travel eastward, across barren sandy wilderness, brought us to towns where few Chinese are seen. This hinterland is populated by shepherds, who wander day after day over the rolling grasslands. No cultivation is seen anywhere, as for years the rainfall has been so slight that farmers have been driven off the land. In such places as these it was a relief to awaken in the mornings not to the blaring of bugles (as in all Chinese cities), but to the penetrating cry of the muezzin calling to prayer. We met quite a few who had been to kiss the Black Stone in Mecca, and their return to their home towns explains the sight of so many proud wearers of the fez.

Muslim Freedom from Race-feeling

"We may point to the fact that while, in our Western Society, race-feeling was once unknown and is now universal, there are other societies in which the prejudice has taken shape on different and sometimes diametrically opposite lines.

"For instance, the Primitive Arabs who were the ruling element in the Umayyad Caliphate called themselves 'the swarthy people', with a connotation of racial superiority, and their Persian and Turkish subjects 'the ruddy people', with a connotation of racial inferiority: that is to say, they drew the same distinction that we draw between blonds and brunets but reversed the values, which we assign to the two shades of White. Gentlemen may prefer blondes; but brunets are the first choice of Allah's Chosen People. Moreover, the Arabs and all other White Muslims, whether brunets or blonds, have always been free from colour-prejudice *vis-a-vis* the non-White races; and at the present day, Muslims still make that

dichotomy of the human family which Western Christians used to make in the Middle Ages. They divide mankind into Believers and Unbelievers who are all potentially Believers; and this division cuts across every difference of physical race. This liberality is more remarkable in White Muslims to-day than it was in White Western Christians in our Middle Ages; for our medieval forefathers had little or no contact with peoples of a different colour, whereas the white Muslims were in contact with the Negroes of Africa and with the dark-skinned peoples of India from the beginning and have increased that contact steadily, until nowadays Whites and Blacks are intermingled, under the aegis of Islam, through the length and breadth of the Indian and the African Continent. Under this searching test, the White Muslims have demonstrated their freedom from race-feeling by the most convincing of all proofs; they have given their daughters to Black Muslims in marriage."

—Arnold J. Toynbee in *A Study of History*.

The Islamic Law of Divorce

The *Calcutta Statesman* gives an account of a debate in the Bengal Legislative Council on the question of Moslem divorce, from which we take the following paragraphs without comment, leaving our readers to draw their own conclusions:

"Mr. Quasem said that he had made the demand in the interests of the poorer and more illiterate sections of Mohammedan women. The Islamic Law gave husbands great latitude in the matter of divorce, which was often effected by the mere spoken word. The only check on the husband's capriciousness was his liability to pay the wife the amount of the dower agreed upon at the time of the marriage. But because there was often no record of the amount of the dower, wives found it difficult to prove it in a court of law and realize their dues. It was therefore necessary in their interests that registration of divorces as well as of marriages should be made compulsory.

"Opposing the resolution, Mr. Hassan Ali said that the remedy suggested by Mr. Quasem would not be of much use to the wife. According to the *Sheriat*, a divorce could be an accomplished fact when the husband had uttered the word, and it was binding in law whether the fact was registered or not. In his opinion, the proper way of solving the problem was to spread education among the poorer classes of the community.

"The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Azizul Haq opposed the motion on the ground that the Moslem community at the present moment would not support such a course."

Death of the Pioneer of the Holland Mission in Egypt

We learn from the Society for the Evangelization of Egypt, with headquarters at Amsterdam, of the death of Mr. J. H. Spillenaar at the age of eighty-nine. He was the pioneer for the early efforts of a Dutch evangelical group in Egypt and the Near East. In 1882 he visited Jiddah and was one of the first to sell Bibles in that part of the world. Afterwards he served in Egypt and later became one of the Directors of the Mission. A beautiful monument setting forth his pioneer adventure has been erected to his memory.

BOOK REVIEWS

El Islam Cristianizado: Estudio del "Sufismo" a Traves de las Obras de Abenarabi de Murcia. By Miguel Asin Palacios. Editorial Plutarco (S. A.), Madrid, 1931. pp. 543. 35 pesetos.

We regret the delay in reviewing this important study by one of the leading Orientalists of Spain, whose earlier works on Al-Ghazali and on the relation between Dante's trilogy and Moham-medan eschatological thought are known to our readers. Ibn 'Arabi was born in Murcia, in 560, studied in Seville, and in 598 set out to travel in the East. He died at Damascus in 638, leaving behind an enormous mass of writings. Dr. Macdonald characterizes him as "the greatest Sufi in the Arabic-speaking world." His mysticism was of the most rampant and luxurious description, and "his books are a strange jumble of theosophy and metaphysical paradoxes." He inclined very strongly to Pantheism. Ash-Sha'arani, the last of the great mystics of Islam in Egypt, was a devoted follower of Ibn 'Arabi and defended his memory against the charge of heresy. His principal work, *Al Futuhat-al-Makkiya*, gives a complete system of mysticism in 560 chapters.

The work before us consists of three parts: The first (pp. 31-117) is devoted to the life story of Ibn Arabi; the second, (pp. 121-274) deals with his teachings and doctrines of the mystic life; while the last part, (pp. 277-518) describes in some detail the text and contents of seven of his more important writings.

In a brilliant introduction we have *sufism* defined as an *imitacion Christiana* and the distinction drawn between orthodox and heterodox mysticism. The question of "the existence of a spiritual Islam analagous to Christianity" is answered in the affirmative. In spite of the "*extra ecclesiam nulla salus*" of the Catholic faith there is a door of common grace (even in Medieval theology) for "Turcae et Mahometani" by which they enter into some experience of God's presence and God's love. The comparison is very similar to that made by Dr. Macdonald in the October, 1935 number of our Quarterly. Miguel Asin Palacios does not seek to explain, but he sets forth abundant evidence for the *fact* of this Christianizing background and process in Islamic mysticism. Take for example, the sub-divisions of the teaching of Ibn Arabi on the Love of God, as given in Chapter XIII of the Second Part:

"Virtudes preparatorias de esta sublime morada.—Los tres momentos graduales del amor: simpatia, dilección, pasión.—Naturaleza del amor.—Sus dos especies: amor fisico y amor espiritual.—El amor de Dios a la criatura: su naturaleza y efectos.—El amor del hombre a Dios: sus tres especies: fisico, esperitual y mixto.—El amor profano, simbolo del amor divino.—Origenes cristianos de este simbolismo islamico.—La psicologia del amor divino,

analizada a traves de este simbolo.—El amor desinteresado o platónico a Dios.—Su origen cristiano.—Su introduccion en el islam.—El tema 'No me mueve, mi Dios para quererte.' ”

There is here a marvelous wealth of material for the sympathetic study of Islam in its search for God and for peace. Ibn Arabi and Al Ghazali have their devoted disciples today in every Moslem land, and we must understand what they have attained in their search for God, as well as what they have missed, if we would be wise in preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ.

The book is bound in paper covers, but artistically printed with beautiful vignettes at the head of each chapter, maps and photographic illustrations. In addition to three indices, we have a glossary of technical terms and an analytic table of contents. All this makes it easy for those who have only a moderate acquaintance with Spanish.

The Monetary System of Egypt. By Mohammed Ali Rifaat, B.Sc. (Econ.) London. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London. pp. 206. 7s. 6d.

When a State achieves a fair degree of political independence it is only natural that the inhabitants should wish to parallel this action in the economic realm. Such is the case in Egypt where after a most tortuous political career which now suffers a minimum of outside interference, the Egyptians are now turning to the problem of economic independence. The country itself has certain peculiar problems, basic of which is the predominance of agriculture in general and particularly of the single export crop, cotton. The prosperity of the country thus depends largely on the world price of cotton, over which Egypt has no control.

Since 1916 the currency of Egypt has been on a sterling-exchange basis, i.e., the value of Egyptian money has fluctuated with that of the English pound, a wholly artificial relation as far as Egypt was concerned. Moreover, until after the World War the banking institutions of the country were wholly foreign, were exempt from local control under the Capitulations, or special privileges allowed foreigners, and in some cases evidenced bitter rivalry among themselves.

Since 1920 there have been two developments which induce the author to term the period the "Renaissance." One was the establishment in 1920 of the *Banque Misr*, or Egyptian Bank, a bank owned and operated by Egyptians. It has been of special value for small savings, for loans to local industries and agricultural cooperatives, and in the promotion of local companies. The other has been the establishment by the Egyptian Government a decade later of two credit institutions to assist in small loans, encouragement of crop diversification, and aid on small mortgages.

Without seeming to condone the British occupation of the country, it seems one might well question the author's view that it was a period entirely barren of progress and reform (page 31). But with his general analysis and his suggestions for a return to the gold standard and a readaptation of the banking system, especially the establishment of a central, or bankers', bank, one can hardly take issue.

Western Reserve University

W. W. WHITE.

The Accuracy of the Bible: the Stories of Joseph, the Exodus and Genesis confirmed and illustrated by Egyptian monuments and language. By A. S. Yahuda. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1935. pp. xxxvii+226 with illustrations throughout the text. \$3.00.

It is always refreshing to read in modern times a book which defends the authenticity of Scripture. In this work, Yahuda tries to show that there are Egyptian elements in the Pentateuch which indicate authorship during the Mosaic period. In speaking of the Wellhausen theory (p. xxi), he says: "The whole system has degenerated into a mass of far-fetched hypotheses and haphazard theories, which only fitted within a frame of preconceived ideas about the history, the development and the composition of the Scriptures. In the long run it became customary to consider it as highly scientific to challenge everything Biblical and to alter the texts at one's heart's desire." He has other good observations on pages 116 and 117. Yet one wonders why the author, in a scientific investigation, does not restrain himself from giving way to sarcasm on page 77. Thus, in speaking of Egyptian pictures of brick manufacturing, he says: ". . . and it is only astonishing that such critics as Edward Meyer and Spiegelberg have not suggested that the narrator used these very tomb reliefs in order to invent the legend of Israel's bondage in Egypt."

The Joseph narrative agrees in various details with Egyptian customs as depicted on the monuments. Yahuda has very adequately brought out the Egyptian parallels to show that this section of the Pentateuch is true to Ancient Egyptian conditions. He regards the Joseph-Hyksos theory as absurd and places the Joseph incident long before the period of the Hyksos.

But while he has produced a large number of pertinent facts to substantiate the antiquity of the Pentateuch, he is not fortunate in his philological observations. Yahuda unduly exaggerates the influence of Egyptian upon Hebrew (xxxiii-xxxiv); the fact of the matter is that Hebrew is a genuinely Semitic language both in vocabulary and in syntax, even though, as is well known, it contains some Egyptian loan-words.

The linguistic relations of the Pentateuch to the Egyptian language as cited on pages 9 and 10 are no evidence of Egyptian influence on the Hebrew language. The expression *years of famine* is such a simple idea, which could hardly have been expressed as well in any other way, that it does not necessarily represent a literal translation of Egyptian *years of hunger*. The root *to hear*, which has a derived meaning of *to understand* is equated by Yahuda with a similar development in Egyptian. This parallel again does not prove Egyptian influence. We have the same meanings of this root in Arabic and Syriac. In fact, the signification *to understand* is such a simple semantic development from *to hear* that we do not need to seek its origin in Egyptian. The frequent use of the word *face* in Hebrew with the preposition, as in Gen. 41:46, "before Pharaoh", has a correspondence in the prepositional use of Egyptian *hr*, "face". In view of Assyrian *lapân*, "before", it appears rather that the Hebrew and the Egyptian had the same psychology and developed along parallel lines. Furthermore it must be borne in

mind that the Egyptian and Semitic languages are philologically very closely related.

The explanation of Joseph's Egyptian name, Zaphenathpaneah, as meaning "Food of the land is this living one", has much in its favor, but the derivation of *Moses* from Egyptian *mw+s*, which Yahuda translates as "Child of the Nile", appears rather remote. He makes a good observation, however, (pp. 97-99) on the expression (Ex. 2:23) *in the course of those numerous days*, an idiom which has its counterpart in the Tale of the Two Brothers. He strains a point (p. 32), when he says that *days of weeping* is a literal translation of Egyptian *days of weeping*, signifying the observed time of mourning and is therefore of Egyptian origin, since it occurs only in connection with Jacob's mourning in Egypt and nowhere else in the Bible. We find, however, a rather similar use in Deut. 34:8: "so the days of weeping in the morning for Moses were ended."

To say (p. 93) that Hebrew *mar'ah*, "mirror", which is derived from the root *rā'ah*, "to see", is a literal rendering of the Egyptian word for *mirror*, which too is derived from the root "too see", *maa*, is a puerile observation. The Hebrew noun is a good Semitic form; we have also in Arabic *mirāh*, "mirror". It is enough to know that the Ancient Egyptians had mirrors and that the Hebrews had a word in their own language to name them. In note 27 on page 222, English *goblet* is derived from Hebrew *gābīa'*; this statement, of course, cannot be taken seriously. Yahuda correctly notices that Pharaoh ("the Great House") was a title just as Czar or Sultan; a good modern parallel, however, would have been *the Sublime Porte*.

Concerning the Exodus, Yahuda accepts Garstang's date of the fall of Jericho, which reconciles the Biblical figures with the results of archaeology.

In the Third Section are discussed the early stories of Genesis. While much interesting and valuable material is found in these chapters, one cannot help feeling that the author finds in the Pentateuch too much Egyptian influence, much of which is forced and far-fetched. A good many of his arguments here are not convincing. He observes, however, that Genesis does not present a narrow or merely local point of view; he sees a monotheism which is free from all the sensualism of mythology. He considers the Biblical creation as "the only one which has some approach to a scientific cosmological conception." But even though much of his philological reasoning is faulty, and undue weight is placed upon Egyptian influence, the author must be commended for finding unity in the Pentateuch. While Yahuda is not interested in the problem of inspiration he accepts the Pentateuch at its face value and places its authorship at a time shortly after the Exodus.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

Sahara: The Great Desert. By E. F. Gautier. Authorized Translation by Dorothy Ford Mayhew, Librarian, Institute of Geographical Exploration, Harvard University, with a Foreword by Douglas Johnson. Columbia University Press, New York, 1935. pp. 264. \$3.75.

Our readers will remember a review of E. W. Bovill's "Caravans of the Old Sahara" published two years ago. That volume dealt

with ancient history. The one before us deals with its geography, geology, and present-day development. When the original edition appeared in French, it was immediately hailed as a geographical classic. Miss Mayhew's translation has the approval of the author in this expanded and revised version of the original work. The reader is introduced to one of the most fascinating areas of the world, the real Sahara: "the Sahara noted for exceptional aridity, yet where exceptional rains destroy whole towns; the Sahara where temperatures of 158 degrees Fahrenheit may be encountered in the dune sands, and where the traveler may find his drinking water frozen over night; the Sahara where the Moslem Tuaregs have a horror of ablutions, and where their nearly naked bodies are scoured clean by sand-laden winds; the Sahara where scarcity of vegetation gives one a 'grandiose and overwhelming impression of absolute emptiness'".

After a brief introduction, the author sketches in turn the Physical Existence of the Sahara, Present and Past; The History of the Sahara; a description of the four chief divisions beginning with Egypt and ending with the western tribes; and a concluding chapter on The New Sahara. The author remarks that "the Sahara in its whole extent forms practically a bulkhead between the blacks and the whites. The Maghrib to the north is white; the Sudan to the south is black, incontrovertibly and almost without any transition. Nor have there ever been any relations between the two, other than infiltrations, drop by drop."

It is to the existence of the oases, due to deep-seated waters, and the introduction of the camel (which did not take place until a little earlier than the Moslem conquest), that the Sahara owes its importance in the history of North Africa. "Today the camel, or to be more exact, the dromedary—the camel with one hump—is so closely associated in our minds with the desert landscape that the two seem inseparable; but in actual fact the camel is comparatively a newcomer. He is never mentioned by the ancient historians, nor does he figure in the rock engravings and pictorial monuments which record for us so exactly the everyday life of these early peoples."

The author does not under-estimate the influence of Islam and the Arabs, especially through the slave trade, in the history of the Sahara during the long period before the advent of the motor car and the conquest of the Sahara by western explorers and empire builders.

We have a most interesting description of the Tuaregs and of the old Capital, Timbuctu. Every chapter is followed by a complete bibliography and there are a number of excellent photographic plates and maps. The new Sahara is dominated by wireless telegraph, air-of trans-Saharan railways. "Tuareg Sahara is particularly the planes and automobiles, by the construction of roads and the proposal center of the controversy regarding the feasibility of trans-Saharan rail transportation. Construction on one rail project is about to begin, the plans being already carefully studied."

The author is optimistic regarding the future of this vast expanse. He believes that it contains mineral resources and possibly oil. Some day, he believes, we will be able to draw power from the enormous

forces of solar energy and wind which now go to waste in the Sahara. The slave trade has disappeared, and the old slave centers are in complete decadence. Here is a fascinating study of geography, not without paragraphs on the philosophy of history. Z.

The Magic Gate of the Sahara. By Angelo Piccioli, translated from the Italian by Angus Davidson. Methuen & Co., Ltd., London, 1935. pp. ix+306+24 plates+an endpaper sketch map of Tripolitania with inset of Tripoli and the Mensha. 12s.6d.

This is a most fascinating book; Dr. Piccioli is able to reproduce the spirit of the Sahara and its inhabitants. Formerly he was in the Italian Ministry for Colonies, but on this journey through the Sahara, he travelled unofficially and solely for pleasure. The translator has succeeded in giving us a rendering which is entirely free from the earmarks of a translation.

The book begins with an alluring and graphic description of Tripoli, "the White Town," and its people. Speaking of the natives, Dr. Piccioli says (p. 10): "The Arab is often a complete type of human beauty—even when he does not shine in external graces. For he has natural physical dignity, modesty of speech, solemnity of greeting, an austere and primitive simplicity of life. The people of this race have one unique privilege which, in spite of everything, increases their prestige in our eyes—they escape the ridiculous. They are poor without being indigent, sordid without triviality."

In referring to the muezzin's voice in the evening, the author's words exercise a powerful grip upon our imagination (p. 18): "It had the accent of absolute faith, of solemn meditation; it was like the winged word of an invisible being coming down from heaven, steadfast and consoling." Similarly, a beautiful morning prayer, which the author describes as being simple and solemn as the infinite expanse of the desert, is uttered by the muezzin in the oasis at Gadames (p. 254).

With vivid portrayal (p. 40), a dancing woman is called a living *apologia* of pure instinct; the description of fanatical dances in the *zawias* is graphic. The barbaric dances of Gadames are also depicted in realistic manner. In this part, ribald scenes are set before us in a native atmosphere.

Everything from page 1 to 85 is wonderful in power of description. In Chapter XI (pp. 86-98), the author shows what has been accomplished under the Italian régime. In this land there have been successive layers or waves of Berbers, Carthaginians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Normans, Turks, and Italians.

On the journey across the Djefara, the Djebel, and the Desert on the way to Gadames, we are confronted with primitive life and the troglodyte homes of Arabs and Jews. We meet the Biblical scenes of the patriarchs and of women drawing water; daybreak and the mirage on the desert are represented in poetic language.

An excellent account of the Berbers and their type of Islam is found in Chapter XVII, "Wild Eagles on the Crag", and in Chapter XXXIII, "Sons of the Suns."

The goal of the itinerary is Gadames, which is in total isolation from the outside world. On pages 57-58, in the section devoted to Tripoli, the writer explains how Islamic art came to stagnate and

how architecture turned into philosophy without one's noticing it. In Chapter XXV, architecture is discussed once more in connexion with Gadames; in this chapter furthermore a parallel is drawn between external appearance and the life of the people (p. 218): "The thing that is typical of Islam, and which immediately announces its presence here, is the aspect of material wretchedness and decay which always characterizes the external appearance of Mohammedan countries. Here it reaches the highest possible degree of melancholy." And yet there is something alluring in this atmosphere; for Piccioli says (p. 219): "And I envied these people, whose life has gone on unchanged for centuries between the mosque and the desert—unchanged and unchangeable." In returning to the people of this region, he writes (pp. 236-237): "They showed a detachment from earthly things, a lack of curiosity about themselves and about the world which was both astonishing and arresting. It was the true Moslem fatalism that had moulded them like this. Their misery seemed so natural that one forgot to be sorry for them: their abandonment was a part of the immemorial order of this world of the Sahara; perhaps it even contributed to its character and its beauty, like the utter ruin of the old walls and houses of earth. Perhaps there may be an element of poetry in their somnolence and sloth, a secret harmony in their motionless idleness; if so, one can begin to understand the dumb, obstinate spirit that they have against any one who tries to rouse them or to disturb their accustomed visions."

The plates are excellent and most of them furnish the reader with reproductions of the architecture of Tripolitania. A four-page glossary of Arabic and Tuareg words is appended. The writer knows at first hand the desert and the people of the Sahara and can present his material with imagination and in attractive language.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

Persia: Romance and Reality. By O. A. Merritt-Hawkes. Ivor Nicholson & Watson, Ltd., London, 1935. pp. 327. 18 shillings.

The author lived in Persia for some time and has evidently traveled extensively. She had influence and considerable independence on her journey, and was escorted by her Persian friends. Her descriptions of the manners and the customs of the Persians, both ancient and modern, are realistic and romantic. Every kind of home seems to have been opened to her, and we have discussions by the Persians themselves regarding their hopes for the future of Iran. There is a chapter on Islam in Persia, in which the author holds that the ancient religion is being reformed, but also undermined by government regulations. Regarding Christian missions we read:

"Christian missions of the Church of England in the South and American Presbyterians in the North, have been working hard and splendidly for many years, but have made but few converts. To deduce that they have therefore failed would be a gross error—for actually, they have had an enormous influence in teaching Christian ethics, service to one another, social responsibility, honesty, honor and fair play. Some of the Persian Christians say that Christianity is the future religion of Persia, but there is absolutely no evidence of such a possibility."

However, since Persia was once Christian, it is not at all impossible that she may return to that faith. Altogether, a book that is well written and crowded with facts; but it has a very poor index. The glossary and the text also show a rather limited knowledge of the Persian language.

AMY E. ZWEMER.

Le Monde Oriental: Revue des études orientales, Tidskrift för orientaliska studier, Vol. xxvi-xxvii, 1932-1933, ed. by H. S. Nyberg, Uppsala, A.B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln (Harrassowitz, Leipzig; Geuthner, Paris; Williams & Norgate, London). pp. iv.+380. Price 30 Swedish crowns.

This comprehensive journal is devoted to Indo-Iranian, Semitic, Biblical, and general Oriental studies. The etymological and semantic study of Vedic *kratu* by K. Rönnow (1-90) is an important contribution to the religion of the Veda. Among the Indic words discussed by J. Charpentier (91-169), *naraka* (120-129) is of interest to the students of Indic religions; this word, he maintains, means in fact not *Unterwelt*, *Hölle*, but rather *Abgrund*, *Grube*, or *Loch im Erdboden*. The same word in Pāli originally meant *Abgrund*, *tiefe Grube*, *Absturz*, which later developed into the meaning *Hölle*. E. Beneviste has an article (170-215), *Le témoignage de Théodore bar Kōnay sur le zoroastrisme*. The Ethiopic field is ably represented by O. Löfgren, *Varianten und Bemerkungen zur äthiopischen Anaphora der 318 Orthodoxen* (216-226); by O. Löfgren and S. Euringer, *Die äthiopische Dioscorus-Anaphora* (229-255), and by A. L. Ahlmark, who considers the Ethiopic translations of Ben Sira (257-304). H. S. Nyberg discusses one Aramaic etymology. Seventy-three pages are devoted to reviews of books covering the Ancient Orient and Semitic and Biblical, Indic, Iranian, Turkish, and miscellaneous Oriental subjects; works on Arabic and Islamics receive eighteen pages.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

Modern Trends in World-Religions. Edited by A. Eustace Haydon. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. pp. xi.+250. \$2.50.

This is a collection of twenty-four lectures delivered by sixteen eminent scholars during the summer of 1933 at the University of Chicago under the auspices of the Haskell Foundation. The religions discussed are Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Each religion is discussed in its relation to modern scientific thinking, modern social-economic problems, intercultural contacts, and finally the task of modern religion. This review will confine itself to Islam.

"Islam" has been fortunate in that its treatment has fallen into competent and sympathetic hands. Professor Martin Sprengling of Chicago discusses Islam in its relation to modern scientific thinking and the task of modern religion, while Professor Henry E. Allen of Lafayette College treats it in its relation to modern social-economic problems and intercultural contacts.

Since the task of the lectures is primarily interpretive rather than factual, it is inevitable that they should be to a great extent expressive of the writer's personal point of view. Such differences of opinion are not only legitimate but also thought-provoking. Closer familiarity with the facts, however, will safeguard the interpreter against error in arriving at his conclusions. Thus when Professor

Allen (pp. 115-16) explains the "display of surprising cultural similarities in the lands which radiate west, north, and east of Arabia . . . partly because of their proximity to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina", he is in error, since, at the accession of Mu'a wiyah the center of gravity in Islam shifted north to Damascus and later, under the Abbasids, to Baghdad; and "the two holy cities" ceased almost completely to exert any cultural influence over the Moslem world. When further he adds that this "cultural similarity" is "eminently" the result of a common language, Arabic, he begs the question. It is more likely that because the people of the Fertile Crescent have always been dominantly Semitic, a Semitic language and "surprising cultural similarities" have persisted. Nor is it correct to say that "in order to eliminate the degrading and anti-social practice of prostitution, Islam has preferred to legitimize polygamy thereby granting surplus women a respected status in society" (p. 96). The practice of polygamy was rampant in pre-Islamic Arabia, and Mohammed's legislation on the subject was restrictive rather than permissive. Furthermore neither polygamy nor the harem system has been effective in guarding against promiscuity.

A minor point is that of the transliteration on page 95. The Arabic for almsgiving is *zakāt* not *zikat*, while a philanthropic endowment is *waqf* (pl. *awqāf*) not *vakf* and *evkaf*. Prof. Sprengling's rendering of *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah* (p. 9) into *The Collapse of the Philosophers* rather than the "Destruction" may still be improved upon by rendering it *The Incoherence of the Philosophers*. Both writers when discussing contemporary Islam and current Moslem tendencies are inclined to draw their conclusions from theoretical Islam, which is very different from practical Islam. Otherwise the work is scholarly, the ideas mature, and the judgment sober. Above all, the whole treatment of this difficult subject is sympathetic, not to say enthusiastic. The writers speak as the friends of Islam and the Moslems.

Princeton, N. J.

NABIH AMIN FARIS.

The Origin of Religion. By Samuel M. Zwemer. Cokesbury Press, Nashville, Tennessee. pp. 256. \$2.

Has the Christian religion come to the human race by way of a supernatural revelation or of a natural evolution? Dr. Zwemer valiantly stands for the former, which is in keeping with the clear declarations of the Holy Scriptures and the more recent findings of anthropology. That a primitive monotheism is the assumption of all religions is being more generally conceded than formerly and is the distinct presupposition of Christianity. This explains the origin of the world, of man and his idea of God, of prayer and of sacrifice, and of the general belief in immortality; it also accounts for a high standard of primitive ethics, including the almost universal primitive practice of monogamy.

All these considerations are given a thorough and comprehensive study in the eight concise and challenging chapters of Dr. Zwemer's book. He defends the traditional conservative view of man's original religious aspirations and hopes, by appealing to leading anthropological authorities, giving special weight to the scientific contributions

of Dr. P. Wilhelm Schmidt, to whom the book is appropriately dedicated.

"The Origin of Religion" is a timely and much-needed contribution to the whole history and philosophy of religion, and will serve as a valuable apologetic—useful as a textbook in colleges and seminaries and deserving a place in every thoughtful minister's library. The book will also commend itself as a stimulus to the faith of those who accept a religion which represents primarily God's reaching down to men for their salvation, instead of man's attempt to achieve a knowledge of and a fellowship with God by his own endeavors.

J. ROSS STEVENSON.

Missions Wissenschaft. By H. W. Schomerus. Verlag Quelle & Meyer, Leipzig. pp. 219. R.M. 9.

We are glad to call attention to this German work on the science of missions. The author is Professor at Halle, a great center for the training of missionary workers. In his Preface he defines the word "mission" and gives a brief history of the literature on the science of Missions. The first part of the book deals with the basis and ground of the enterprise; the second with mission theory, including motives, methods, and inspiration. The third part is on the attitude of missions toward the non-Christian faiths, and the last two sections give a historic survey of Protestant and Catholic missions, especially since the Reformation period.

The book is well documented and the section on Missions to Moslems, although brief, is accurate. Z.

Der Islam und die Christliche Verkündigung: Eine Missionarische Untersuchung. By Gottfried Simon. C. Bertelsmann, Gütersloh, Germany. pp. 363. 7 M.

This is a first-class textbook on the Christian approach to Islam in the proclamation of the Gospel. The author has behind him many years of experience in Sumatra and a wide acquaintance with all the literature on the subject, as is evident in the bibliography and the footnotes. He writes with the deepest sympathy for Moslems and their need, but is unflinching in his adherence to historic Christianity. We have on our missionary shelves the older works of Pfander, Tisdall, Gairdner and Rice, as well as the biographies of those missionaries who incarnated the principles of the Gospel. Nevertheless, this book is of prime importance, as it is the first work which deals with the history of missionary effort among Moslems, both by the Oriental churches before the Reformation, the Western church during the Reformation period, the Roman Catholic and the Greek orthodox church.

The first part is historical (pp. 1-95); the second part (pp. 96-122) takes up the question of inspiration and revelation; the old controversy for the authenticity and historicity of the Christian records. In Part Three (pp. 123-224) Simon deals with the Moslem doctrine of God, the Moslem Christology, the Holy Spirit and the Trinity. Part four (pp. 225-289) deals with Mohammed as prophet, as ideal of ethics, and as mediator. Eschatology (pp. 290-327) forms the fifth part of the book; but we do not feel that this aspect

of Islam receives sufficient emphasis, especially in view of its recent revival in every part of the world of Islam. A final section is entitled, The Task of the Christian Evangelist. Here Simon is at his best and shows, on the one hand, how the lack of visible results should not make us pessimistic, nor superficial changes in the world of Islam lead us to an unhealthy optimism. He acknowledges the supreme difficulty of the Task, and states that it is impossible to carry on real evangelism and bring the message home to the Moslem heart without a defense of the essential Christian doctrines. This process, however unwilling, can only lead to controversy in the right sense of the word. The chasm between the two religions cannot, and must not, be bridged by rickety planks of compromise. Controversy may be an evil but in work among Moslems it remains an unavoidable evil. Altogether, these lectures, originally given at the Theological School of Bethel, deserve wide circulation, and a translation into English would be desirable. Z.

St. Thomas and the Problem of the Soul in the Thirteenth Century.

By Anton C. Pegis, Ph.D. St. Michael's College, Toronto, 1934. pp. 212. \$2.50.

This volume, which is published as one of St. Michael's Mediaeval Studies, along with a Latin version of Algazel's *Metaphysics* edited by the Rev. J. T. Muckle, C. S. B., seeks to determine the position of the thirteenth century thinkers, especially St. Bonaventura, St. Albert the Great and St. Thomas, with reference to Plato and Aristotle and their interpreters, Averroes (Ibn Rushd) and Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā). Dr. Pegis says (p. 12), "In their attempt to express to themselves and to others their attitude towards the philosophy of Aristotle, the theologians of the thirteenth century were called upon to formulate in an explicit way their own philosophical decisions. As a result, the different reactions which this problem of evaluating and interpreting Aristotle brought into existence are one of the principal means that we have of distinguishing the various doctrinal currents of the thirteenth century." The foregoing statements catch the ear of the student of Moslem theology, for doctrinal developments in Christianity and Islām show striking points of resemblance. Aristotle, Plato and the Neo-Platonists impelled not only the thirteenth century Doctors of the Church, but also such eminent and divergent Moslem thinkers as al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) and Ibn Qaiyim al-Jawziyah (d. 751/1350) to "evaluate and interpret" the Greek views of the soul. Alfred Guillaume ("The Legacy of Islam," p. 282) points to the parallel tendencies in Christianity and Islām: "East and West were intellectually much more closely aligned in the thirteenth century than they have ever been since. Save for the central dogmas of the Trinity and the Incarnation, the scholastics could as often as not find as many allies in the opposing camp as in the ranks of their own army."

Dr. Pegis first analyzes the views of St. Bonaventura. The soul is a form that exists, has life, is intelligent, and enjoys the exercise of freedom. The human soul, as a spirit joined to a body, enables material substances to participate in the blessedness of God. Having been made for beatitude, it is incorruptible and immortal. The soul is a substance (*hoc aliquid*) as well as a form, and its substantiality

is the source of its immortality and its power to act on the body. St. Bonaventura specifies the rôle of matter in the soul: "Since the rational soul is a *hoc aliquid*, naturally subsists by itself and acts as well as receives actions, we must follow a mean and say that it contains, within itself, the foundation of its own existence, a material principle through which it exists and a formal principle through which it has being. This matter, however, is above the conditions of extension, privation and corruption, and is, therefore, called spiritual matter." As to the origin of souls, the Seraphic Doctor inclines toward the view that Adam's soul was joined to his body immediately after its creation. He definitely holds that each soul is created in its own individual body and not before it. He has little or no place in his system for the Aristotelian conception of the soul as the form of the body.

St. Albert aims to safeguard the substantiality of the soul. He does not agree with St. Bonaventura that the soul is composed of matter and form, and he limits matter to the physical world.

Prof. Pegis presents St. Thomas' interpretation of the soul. The Angelic Doctor says that the soul "is not composite if composition means matter and form; it is composite if composition means the derivation of its being from God." The union of soul with body must be of such a nature as to insure the unity of man and the subsistence of the soul. The soul is both subsistent and the principle of man's subsistence. The soul, being subsistent, retains its existence and its individual perfection after its separation from the body. St. Thomas maintains with St. Augustine that the soul is essentially in every part of the body.

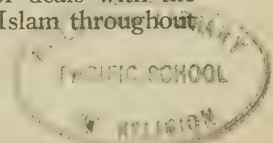
In a section entitled "The Historical Rehabilitation of Aristotle," Dr. Pegis shows how St. Thomas, in his commentary on *De Anima*, reconstructs Aristotle, in distinction from Averroes' interpretations of Aristotle. According to St. Thomas, "Aristotle's aim is to give a strictly biological definition of the soul, to make it the form of matter in a strict sense and in this way to insure the metaphysical unity of the living compound."

Dr. Pegis' book confirms the fact that the student of the history of Christian doctrine must be acquainted with the Greek philosophers and their commentators. The same qualification is true of one who would know the doctrinal currents in Islâm, and their relation to Christianity. Thinkers of both faiths, in dealing with the soul, used common sources and propounded similar questions. They considered the origin and nature of the soul, its relation to the body, its status after its separation from the body, and many other aspects of a perpetual problem. Familiarity with the Greek philosophers and the Moslem and Christian theologians through the Middle Ages, will reveal to us the views of the soul held by vast multitudes of mankind over a period of many centuries.

FRANCIS T. COOKE.

De Islam en zijn Komst in den Archipel. Door Dr. W. F. Stutterheim. Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1935. pp. 140. Price, 2.25 fl.

This is the third in a series of books on the culture of the Dutch East Indies, and is intended for use in the high schools throughout Indonesia. In the compass of 140 pages the author deals with the early history of Islam, the caliphate, the spread of Islam throughout



the world, and especially its arrival in the Archipelago. The second part takes up the environment and the culture and civilization of Java at the time of the Islamic conquest. This part is too brief for the general reader. We then have in the third part the usual description, in this case accurate and condensed, of the creed and the cult of Islam, with a brief reference to mysticism. The fourth part deals with Islamic literature in Arabia and Syria and the more recent literature of Java. A final section is on Moslem architecture and art. The whole treatment of the subject is necessarily detached and neutral. The illustrations and maps are numerous. Altogether a most useful handbook for its purpose. Z.

Nederlandsch Zendings jaarboek voor 1933-34, 1935-36. Zendingsstudieraad, Zeist, Holland, 1935. pp. 260.

This book offers an accurate survey of all the missionary societies in the Dutch East Indies and in the West Indies. Besides the Dutch missionary societies, German, American, and English missionary societies, as well as the members of the Protestant church and other independent indigenous churches are mentioned. In addition, societies which are subservient to missionary aims, for instance the Bible Society, the missionary Consulate, the missionary Conference and the missionary educational Council, even the various grades of higher and lower public instruction in the mission field as well as the philanthropic societies, the mission among the rising generation, the efforts to reach the Chinese in Holland, are all included in this survey. Statistical material concerning the journalism of all the indigenous Christian churches is given with full particulars. The names and addresses of all missionaries are included. The whole is an absolutely indispensable book of reference regarding the work in the Dutch colonies. Exclusive of Europeans and Americans, almost two millions of native Christians live in the Dutch East Indies. Unfortunately the percentage of Mohammedans converted to Christianity in the Dutch East Indies cannot be given accurately. However, I think there must be not less than 10 to 20 per cent of the above figure. G. SIMON.

Akhbār ar-Rādi wal-Muttaki from the Kitāb al-Awrak of Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Yahya as-Suli. Edited by J. Hayworth Dunne. Luzac and Co., London, 1935. pp. 308. 12s.6d.

As the Arabic sub-title indicates, this book consists of that portion of the *Kitāb al-Awrak* which deals with the history of the Abbaside rule in Egypt from 322-333 A.H. It is the latest of a series of unpublished manuscripts issued under the Gibb Memorial Trust. The editor dedicates his work in pleasing Arabic style to his "spiritual father and teacher" Mustapha Bey Rafa'at of Cairo. An earlier effort by the same scholar met with the hearty commendation of Orientalists. That dealt with the poets of the period mentioned, this with two rulers. The entire printed text here given is in Arabic and includes a brief account of the manuscripts used, a facsimile page, and a double index of proper names and places.

The book was beautifully and accurately printed in Cairo, but an English introduction and explanatory notes would have added to its value. Z.

More Moves on an Eastern Chequerboard. By Sir Harry Luke. Lovat Dickson & Thompson, Ltd., London, 1935. pp. x+269+24 plates+an end paper map of the Near East. 12s. 6d.

This is indeed an entertaining book written in a fascinating manner. The Lieutenant-Governor of Malta takes us to Palestine, Lemnos, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Cyprus, and Tripoli and gives us his observations and experiences gained during his career in these lands in the British service. Many historical and geographical data are presented, but they are always enlivened by his personal observations and an ability to find humor in various serious or unusual situations; at the funeral of the Bishop of the Orthodox Church in Palestine, the seven or eight-foot deep grave into which the prelate was to be interred sitting upright in his chair, was not ready by the close of the church service, and the three officiating bishops slipped away at the earliest possible moment.

Although the work is popular in its presentation, the author tells us how modern Hebrew was born, and in Chapter VIII he traces a large number of modern English words to their Arabic originals. His chapter "My Caucasian Year" is rich in information about Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. He also gives us glimpses into the Italo-Albanians and has one chapter on Crusaders' Castles. The book has value for those who are interested both in Christianity and in Islam.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

The Family of the Founder of the Ahmadiyyah Movement. Compiled by Sufi Abdul Qadeer and revised by Mirza Basheer Ahmad. Qadian, Punjab, 1934. pp. 55.

This is a brief sketch of the history of the family of the founder of the Ahmadiyyah movement from A. D. 1530, together with some salient features in the life of the founder himself, press notes on his death, and "extracts from letters and speeches of high government officials bearing on the Ahmadiyyah community". The reviewer is of the opinion that testimonials from British representatives in the India Government that both the Ahmadiyyah community and its founder have always been loyal subjects to George V, R. I., neither indicate that they are good Moslems nor add in any way to their prestige.

NABIH AMIN FARIS.

Al-Andalus. Revista de las Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada; Directores, Miguel Asín Palacios y Emilio García Gómez; published semi-annually. Vol. III, fascicle 1, pp. 232+9 pages of bibliography of Spanish Arabists+plates, 15 pesetas; yearly subscription 30 pesetas. Escuela de Estudios Árabes, Calle de San Vicente, 60, pral, Madrid.

This is an important journal devoted to the Arabic literature and history and Islam of Spain and Northern Africa. A number of eminent Spanish Arabists compose the editorial staff.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

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Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

THE AGA KHAN: MOSLEM PONTIFF. Robert L. Baker. (In *Current History*, New York. September, 1935. pp. 591-597).

The Imam of the Ismailian Mohammedans has worked diligently for all his co-religionists but is sometimes wrongly considered the representative of all Islam.

DIE ALCHEMIE AR-RĀZĪ'S. Julius Ruska. (In *Der Islam*, Berlin. Band 22, Heft 4, 1935).

A study of the works of a renowned physician (860-925 A. D.), who exercised great influence on later alchemists and who wrote more than a hundred books on scientific subjects.

AN ARAB FACES THE MODERN WORLD. Mohammed 'Fadhel Jamali. (In *Asia*, New York. September, 1935. pp. 556-561).

Son of a sheikh, educated until his fifteenth year in Moslem schools, Dr. Jamali is now Director-General of Schools in Iraq. He began his western studies in the American University of Beirut and has a Ph.D from Columbia University.

DER MITTELALTERLICHE ARABISCHE HANDELSVERKEHR IN OST-EUROPA. R. Hennig. (In *Der Islam*, Berlin. Band 22, Heft 3, 1935. pp. 239-265).

Account of Arab trade in Russia and Scandinavia from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries.

AN OPEN LETTER TO MUSTAFA KEMAL FROM A KURDISH CHIEF. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. July, 1935. pp. 471-475).

Though styled a letter, this appeal on behalf of the Kurds is really a book of some hundred pages by Caladet Ali Bedir Khan. It consists of an indictment of the Kurdish policy of Mustafa Kemal and his predecessors, a plea for Kurdish autonomy, and

a discussion of the etymology of the Kurdish tongue. This is a summary of the document.

A RECENT JOURNEY IN KURDISTAN. Mrs. Lindfield Soane. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. July, 1935. pp. 403-417).

Interesting comparison of conditions of travel now and fifteen years ago, prefaced by remarks on the descent and language of the Kurds.

LA RÉFORME ACTUELLE DE LA LANGUE TURQUE. Jean Deny. (In *En Terre d'Islam*, Alger. Juillet-Août, 1935. pp. 223-247).

History of the many changes occurring in the written and spoken language.

THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. July, 1935. pp. 365-368).

The Conference, held at Istanbul, afforded the delegates much stimulating discussion and an opportunity to see at first hand the changes going on in Turkey.

II. ARABIA

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

MUSLIMS IN YUGOSLAVIA. Smail Aga Cemalovich. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. September, 1935. pp. 354-355).

Despite great economic difficulties since the World War, the Mohammedan population today numbers approximately 1,600,000, an increase of 250,000 in ten years.

TURKEY AND THE TURKS. J. Kingsley Birge. (In *The Missionary Herald*, Boston. August, 1935. pp. 353-355; September, 1935. pp. 403-406).

Short sketches of Turkish history and literature, to be followed by articles on the aesthetic life of the Turks, the Turkish Republic and the Revolution, and America's contribution to Turkey.

UNREST IN THE MOSLEM EAST. Hans Kohn. (In *The American Scholar*, New York. Autumn, 1935. pp. 484-495).

Oriental unrest, which grows out of the effort of the East to enter the realm of modern civilization on a par with the West, is being increased by the disturbances in Ethiopia and by the knowledge that Italy's colonial venture in Africa involves issues of the greatest importance for all Asia and Africa.

IV. KORAN. TRADITIONS. THEOLOGY

MU'TAZILITISCHE ETHIK. Ernst Mainz. (In *Der Islam*, Berlin. Band 22, Heft 3, 1935. pp. 191-206).

Sketch of the views of a group of Arab philosophers on the subject of predestination.

ORTHODOXIE ET CONFRÉRIES EN ISLAM. R. Foca. (In *En Terre d'Islam*, Alger. Mai-Juin, 1935. pp. 166-171).

Discusses Moslem societies, comparable to Christian convents and monasteries, in which the inmates live by a religious rule, and finds that they are diminishing in number and influence.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

ALWAYS SOMETHING NEW IN TURKEY. Charles T. Riggs. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. September, 1935. pp. 401-402).

New government ordinances are common in Turkey, but the sweeping abolition of traditional Turkish music has caused deep regret.

FROM HAREM TO PARLIAMENT. Princess Esma. (In *The Christian Science Monitor*, Boston. August 21, 1935. pp. 6-7).

In less than twenty years Turkish women, emerging from their seclusion, have obtained not only the right to vote but also to represent their country as deputies in the Grand National Assembly.

THE NEW EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN IRAQ. Matta Akrawi. (In *The Open Court*, Chicago. July, 1935. pp. 162-176).

Surveys the history and surprising growth of educational facilities in Iraq.

THE POSITION OF WOMAN IN ISLAM. Haji Abdul Majid. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. July, 1935. pp. 249-254).

Conclusion of an article begun in the May, 1935, issue.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN TURKEY. S. A. Morrison. (In *The International Review of Missions*, London. October, 1935. pp. 441-459).

Detailed account, with extracts from official documents, of Turkey's change from a religious Moslem state to one based on secularism, and of the steady advance in freedom of thought and practice.

DAS SCHULWESEN IN NIEDERLANDISCH-OSTINDIEN. Dr. Gregorius. (In *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, Münster. Heft 1, 1935. pp. 10-20).

Discussion, with some statistics, of the educational situation in all its aspects.

WHAT YOUNG TURKS THINK OF MOHAMMED. Ernst Max Hoppe. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. September, 1935. pp. 407-408).

Translation of a letter which appeared in a recent issue of the Stribul periodical, *Thoughts of the Young*. The author addresses the Prophet and denounces the results of Islam in Turkey, glorying in its present purging.

ZUR SOZIOLOGISCHEN BETRACHTUNG DES ISLAMISCHEN RECHTS. Joseph Schacht. (In *Der Islam*, Berlin. Band 22, Heft 3, 1935. pp. 207-238).

A detailed study of Moslem law in its sociological aspects.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

ÉCONOMIE ET POLITIQUE EN SYRIE-LIBAN. Gabriel Neyraud. (In *En Terre d'Islam*, Alger. Juillet-Août, 1935. pp. 248-253).

The Maronite patriarch demands self-government, but the state is still too chaotic to admit of such a change.

THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF PERSIA. Violet Conolly. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. July, 1935. pp. 454-463).

The expensive foreign-made machinery being installed by the government in mines, mills, and factories and the immense government outlay on the Trans-Persian Railway make for great distress among millions of peasants who are heavily taxed and must pay exorbitant prices for common necessities.

POUR UN REDRESSEMENT NORD-AFRICAÏN. Louis Jalabert. (In *Études*, Paris. 5 Août, 1935. pp. 307-327; 20 Août, 1935. pp. 487-505).

Tunis, Algeria and Morocco are unanimous in their dislike of foreign colonists and functionaries, should have more native officials, and should be united under the administration of a Secretary of State for North Africa.

SIMMERING FRENCH NORTH AFRICA. Ferdinand Tuohy. (In *The African Observer*, Bulawayo. August, 1935. pp. 32-38).

From Gabès to Marrekech discontent is rampant, accompanied by bitter criticism of the French régime and evident Nazi and Fascist leanings.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS

ANNUAL REPORT. (In *The Mission Hospital*, London. August, 1935. Whole number).

Contains statistical statements of work done in the Near East and other mission fields of the Church Missionary Society.

ISLAM'S DEBT TO THE BIBLE. Samuel M. Zwemer. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. September, 1935. pp. 405-407).

The Koran itself bears clear testimony to the Bible and the spread of Christian literature to all parts of the Moslem world is opening up a tremendous field for the Gospel.

KAIROUAN RE-VISITED. E. E. Short. (In *North Africa*, London. July-September, 1935. pp. 36-38).

After seven years' absence, the fruits of twenty years' work in one of Islam's "Holy Cities" were to be found in a warm welcome and a greater willingness to listen to God's word

THE NILE MISSION PRESS: Annual General Meeting. (In *Blessed be Egypt*, Tunbridge Wells, England. July, 1935. pp. 43-50).

More funds are needed to carry on the rewarding work of the organization.

THE ONLY CHRISTIAN COLLEGE IN IRAN. Samuel M. Jordan. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. September, 1935. pp. 393-396).

Traces the growth of Alborz College, formerly known as the American College, founded in 1873 as a boy's school. No mention is made of the C. M. S. College at Isfahan.

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